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PATRON—THE KING.

Quarterly Statement

FOR 1934.

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QUARTERLY STATEMENT, JANUARY, 1934.]

THE
PALESTINE EXPLORATION FUND

NOTES AND NEWS.

A SERIES OF SEMI-POPULAR LECTURES after the New Year is projected. Two lectures on the *Topography, Water Supply and Antiquities of Jerusalem* are to be given by the Hon. Secretary, Dr. E. W. G. Masterman, at 5 p.m., on Friday, January 12th and 19th, respectively. They will be open to all interested in the work of the Palestine Exploration Fund. On February 23rd Colonel Newcombe, the Hon. Treasurer, will lecture upon the *Negeb; or Country South of Gaza and Beersheba.*

The usual autumn Feast of Ingathering, which began in September with the report of Mr. Starkey's work at Tell Duweir, has continued until the approach of the Christmas holidays, and the departure of many of the excavators to continue their labours have brought rest both to speakers and hearers. The feast has been rich and varied. Professor J. L. Myres in his brilliant Huxley Memorial Lecture described the amazing history of the last forty years of Ægean research, in which he has played so large a part. Dr. Woolley gave his usual admirable account of the progress of excavation at Ur. Dr. Mackay, in a lucid lecture, illustrated by magnificent slides, set forth the startling results of his continuation of Sir John Marshall's work at Mohenjo-daro. Mr. Johns lectured on the colonization of Palestine during the period of the Crusades. Miss Garrod gave an account of the light which her work has thrown on Prehistoric Man in Palestine, a report of which will appear in the next issue of the QUARTERLY STATEMENT. Finally with Christmas almost upon us Sir E. Denison Ross described the remarkable results of excavation at Persepolis. A notable record.

It is to be hoped that the excavation of Khirbet Fahil begun this year by Mr. John Richmond, a report of which is published in this issue of the *Q.S.* by the courtesy of Sir Charles Marston, will be continued. Pella afforded a place of refuge to the remnant of the Hebrew-Christian community after the fall of Jerusalem in A.D. 70, and any light which its ruins might throw on the subsequent history of that community would be welcomed by students of early Christianity.

Professor Elihu Grant writes to say: "A little tablet found at Beth Shemesh last Spring has a few words in the Ras Shamra script." We shall await further news of this interesting discovery. The bearing of the Ras Shamra material on early Hebrew religion becomes more and more evident with the progress of transcription and translation, but a considerable amount of caution needs to be exercised in drawing conclusions from readings which are still far from certain. Any proof that the Ras Shamra script was known to the Hebrews in the early period of their settlement in Canaan will at least help to place such conclusions on a firmer basis.

In his report in *The Antiquaries Journal* of the excavations at Ur, 1932-3, Dr. Woolley has some interesting remarks on one of his discoveries. In a floor of beaten clay which had served as a foundation for Ur-Engur's mud-brick pavement were found four pits; three were filled up to floor level with very clean earth which had been reddened by burning, while the fourth was filled with three layers of rough unhewn limestone blocks. Dr. Woolley suggests that these pits served as foundations for altars. He continues: "Here, on the terrace in front of the Ziggurat, altars would seem to be in place. The use of 'clean' or burnt earth in the foundation of sacred buildings is recorded in Sumerian texts; that it should have been used for altars is at least not unlikely. In Exodus xx, 26 the injunction is given to the Israelites that an altar, if built of stone, must be of unhewn stone not defiled by the use of metal. That that injunction derives from Mesopotamian use there is nothing to prove, but the association of stone, prescribed by the Hebrew cult, with the burnt earth of Sumerian ritual is striking, and does suggest that we have here a further example of the dependence of the Hebrews on Mesopotamian tradition."

Dr. Crowfoot has just returned from an expedition into Moab under the auspices of the British School of Archæology in Jerusalem. The object of the expedition was to arrive at more precise conclusions concerning the stele which was discovered a few years ago at Balu'a, to the north of Kerak, in Moab. The carving on the stele represents a King of Moab standing between a god and a goddess portrayed in the Egyptian style. Dr. Crowfoot considers that Balu'a was an important place in the early Iron Age, to which the stele has been assigned, and that it enjoyed a renewal of prosperity in the Hellenistic and Nabatean periods or at the beginning of the Christian era.

Among the many objects of interest discovered by Mr. Starkey at Tell Duweir was a small seal with two inscribed registers. On the upper register was the name of Shebna, and on the lower that of Ahab. A full description and photographs will appear in the April issue of the Q.S.

P.E.F. PUBLICATIONS. It may be noted in the Fund's list, that many of our earlier publications, both books and maps, have become out of print. There is still a demand for many of them, and it is suggested that some members may be disposed to assist the Fund by presenting copies of such works for inclusion in our second-hand list, in the event of their having ceased to be of personal utility.

By an arrangement with Sir Flinders Petrie, Members of the P.E.F. are enabled to purchase at half the published price the Reports of the British School of Egyptian Archæology dealing with the Society's researches in Palestine. Reciprocally, the excavation Reports of the P.E.F. henceforth issued are available to Members of the School in Egypt similarly at half-price. P.E.F. Members desirous of taking advantage of this privilege should apply to the Secretary, 2, Hinde Street, W.1.

It may be well to mention that plans and photographs alluded to in the reports from Jerusalem and elsewhere cannot all be published, but they are preserved in the office of the Fund, where they may be seen by subscribers.

The Committee gratefully acknowledge the receipt of a contribution of £25 received from Mr. James R. Ogden, the well-known lecturer on Biblical Archaeology. This contribution is part of a sum of £125 generously handed to Mr. Ogden after one of his lectures to be used by him for Biblical archaeological research.

SUBSCRIPTIONS AND INCOME TAX.—Subscribers may, if they wish, covenant to pay their subscriptions for seven years, thereby enabling the Fund to benefit by the recovery of Income Tax thereon. A form of covenant was issued with the July *Quarterly Statement*, 1932, and copies of this form may be had on application to the Assistant Secretary.

The Committee gratefully acknowledge receipt of the forms already completed.

A complete set of the *Quarterly Statements*, 1869-1910, containing some of the early letters (now scarce), with an index, 1869-1910, bound in the Palestine Exploration Fund cases, can be had. Price on application to the Secretary, 2, Hinde Street, Manchester Square, W.1.

The price of a complete set of the translations published by the Palestine Pilgrims' Text Society, in 13 volumes, with general index, bound in cloth, is £15 15s. Subscriber's price £14 14s. A catalogue describing the contents of each volume can be had on application to the Secretary, 2, Hinde Street, Manchester Square, W.1.

The Museum at the Office of the Fund, 2, Hinde Street, Manchester Square, W.1, is open to visitors every week-day from 10 o'clock till 5, except Saturdays, when it is closed at 1 p.m.

The Committee have to acknowledge with thanks the following :—

Antiquaries Journal, xiii, 4. Report on the Excavations at Ur 1932-3. By C. Leonard Woolley.

American Journal of Philology, liv, 4.

Bulletin of the Metropolitan Museum of Art, New York, November.

Scottish Geographical Magazine, September-November.

Geographical Review, October.

Journal of the American Oriental Society, 53, 3. Problems concerning the Origin of some of the Great Oriental Religions. By N. Schmidt.

Revue Biblique, October. The Song of Habakkuk. By Dom H. Bévenot. The "Remnant of Israel," according to the Prophets. By R. P. P. de Vaux. Review of R. P. Dougherty, The Sea-land of Ancient Arabia, by A. Barrois.

Litterae Orientales, October. Concerning the Earliest History of Persia. By O. G. von Wesendonk.

Orientalistische Literaturzeitung, October-November. A note on the Ras Shamra Texts. By H. L. Ginsberg. Review of Dussaud, Deschamps and Seyrig, La Syrie Antique et Médiévale Illustrée, by P. Thomsen. Review of Langdon, Semitic Mythology, by S. Furlani. Review of Thureau-Dangin, Barrois, Dossin and Dunand, Arslan-Tash, by A. Moortgat. Review of Garstang, Joshua, Judges, by C. Steuernagel.

Zeitschrift der Deutschen Morgenländischen Gesellschaft, N.F., Bd. 12, Hft. 1/2. The concept of "Religion" in the LXX. By G. Bertram.

Biblica, 14, 4. Two Fortresses at the foot of the Mountains of Moab. By A. Mallon.

Archiv Orientalni, September. Parerga Babyloniaca x-xi, Duties connected with Burial and the Cult of the Dead in Cuneiform Sources. By M. san Niccolo.

Bible Lands, October. The Ivories of Samaria. By Grace M. Crowfoot.

Bulletin of the American Schools of Oriental Research. September. Further Explorations in Eastern Palestine. By Nelson Glueck.

Bulletin of the Jewish Palestine Exploration Society, October. Notes on the History of Large Estates in Palestine. By S. Klein.

Jewish Quarterly Review. October. The Truth of Old Testament Religion. By E. König.

Journal of the Palestine Oriental Society, xiii, 4. The Mountain Sanctuaries in Petra and its Environs. By D. Nielsen. The "Jerusalem" and the "City" Stamps on Jar Handles. By E. I. Sukenik.

Al-Mashriq, October-November.

Quarterly of the Department of Antiquities in Palestine, iii, 3. Nabatean Pottery from the Negeb. By J. H. Iliffe.

The Near East, September-November.

New Judea, September-October.

Christian Myth and Ritual. By E. O. James. John Murray, 345 pp.

The Progress of Man. By A. M. Hocart. Methuen & Co., 316 pp.

Palestine, Its History, Peoples and Scenery. By. F. D. Leete-Skeffington. 256 pp., 16 Plates.

Excavations and Their Results at Ain Shems. By Elihu Grant. (Offprint)

Psalm cxxvii, 2. A New Explanation. By S. Daiches. (Offprint).

Ethnic Movements in the Near East in the Second Millennium B.C. By E. A. Speiser. Publications of the American Schools of Oriental Research. Offprint Series, I.

The Cretan Labyrinth : A Retrospect of Ægean Research. (The Huxley Memorial Lecture for 1933). By J. L. Myres, O.B.E., F.B.A.

The Committee will be grateful to any subscribers who may be disposed to present to the Fund any of the following books :—

The Memoirs of the Survey of Western Palestine.

The Quarterly Statement, from 1869 up to date.

Duc de Luynes, *Voyage à la Mer Morte* (1864) ; published about 1874.

K. von Raumer, *Der Zug der Isräliten.* (Leipzig, 1837).

Lagarde, *Onomastica Sacra* (1887).

Le Strange, *Palestine Under the Moslems* (1890).

New Edition of the Babylonian Talmud, English Translation. Original text edited, formulated, and punctuated by Michael L. Rodkinson. Revised and corrected by the Rev. Dr. Isaac M. Wise. Published by the New Amsterdam Book Company, New York. Vol. i, *Sabbath* already in the Library ; subsequent volumes wanted.

Whilst desiring to give publicity to proposed identification and other theories advanced by officers of the Fund and contributors to the pages of the *Quarterly Statement,* the Committee wish it to be distinctly understood that by publishing them in the *Quarterly Statement* they do not necessarily sanction or adopt them.

FORM OF BEQUEST TO THE PALESTINE EXPLORATION FUND.

I give to the Palestine Exploration Fund, London, the sum of———— to be applied towards the General Work of the Fund ; and I direct that the said sum be paid, free of legacy Duty, and that the Receipt of the Treasurer of the Palestine Exploration Fund shall be a sufficient discharge for the same.

NOTE.—*Three Witnesses are necessary to a Will by the Law of the United States of America, and Two by the Law of the United Kingdom.*

BRITISH SCHOOL OF ARCHAEOLOGY IN JERUSALEM.

ANNUAL GENERAL MEETING.

THE annual general meeting of the School was held on Friday, October 6th, 1933, in the Rooms of the Palestine Exploration Fund, 2, Hinde Street, W.1, Sir FREDERIC G. KENYON, G.B.E., K.C.B., C.B., presiding at the Business Meeting. The Chair at the Open Meeting was taken by Professor F. C. BURKITT, D.D., F.B.A., after whose address the Director of the School, Mr. J. W. CROWFOOT, C.B.E., M.A., F.S.A., described the recent Excavations at Samaria, conducted jointly with the British Academy, the Palestine Exploration Fund, Harvard University, and the Hebrew University of Jerusalem.

BUSINESS MEETING.

Minutes.

Professor J. L. MYRES (Hon. Secretary) read the Minutes of the Meeting held on October 6th, 1932, and these were confirmed and signed by the Chairman.

The Bishop of Rochester, Sir George Adam Smith, Sir Charles Marston, Sir Robert Mond, Professor Stanley Cook, Professor J. Garstang, and the Rev. Canon Phythian-Adams sent letters regretting inability to be present.

Council's Report for 1932-1933.

The CHAIRMAN : It is now my duty, ladies and gentlemen, to lay before you the Report for the past year and to ask your approval of it. It is in your hands ; you probably have not had time to study it, but I think the main points can be put before you quite shortly.

You probably realize that the School has had two main projects which have been going on for some years past and which are of an importance that is thoroughly worthy of the School and with which the School may be proud to be connected. One of those projects is the excavation of the Caves at Athlit by Miss Garrod and the other the excavations on the site of Samaria, directed by Mr. Crowfoot. Both those main objects are now coming to an end. Miss Garrod, I understand, will have some work to do this coming season at Athlit, but will have finished by the end of the season. At Samaria the field work is completed. It is not proposed to have any further season there. So that what the School has to deal with during the coming year is the winding up of these two enterprises and the publication, in proper form, of the results. There will be no large new undertaking in the field in the coming year because we have as much to do as we can manage in regard to finishing off and publishing the results of these two large enterprises.

Well, now, the main point is to consider how that affects the function of the School, and that you will find dealt with at the bottom of page 5 and through the whole of page 6 of the Report. The gist of the matter is this : that the School in the past has always been dependent for its solvency on fortuitous sources of income. Over practically the whole of its existence the normal income of the School has never been equal to its normal expenditure. We have received assistance from various sources ; contributions from other Societies who shared the services of the Director, some generous contributions from Sir Robert Mond, and other special donations. Those have kept the School solvent and have enabled us to carry through to the present time. Obviously that is not a satisfactory basis for the permanent life of the School. We cannot always count on receiving assistance from special sources of revenue, and particularly is that so when there is no spectacular work in hand. You can appeal for help for work which is producing results such as Miss Garrod's excavations in the Caves of Athlit, but it is difficult to appeal for special contributions for publishing the results, or for carrying on the normal work of the School in the education of students.

We have had to economise in every possible direction. We have given up our permanent home in Jerusalem and that, again, is not satisfactory. The School will not be in a satisfactory position until it can have a permanent home in Jerusalem, and a sufficient staff for someone to be in residence there even while work is being carried on in the field. Therefore, it will be very necessary either to increase, largely, the income of the School or to consider what the position of the School must be in the future. In that connection there is one sentence in the Report to which I direct your attention : " The School, in fact, cannot go on, unless the relation between its income and its expenditure is established on a sounder basis ; and the Council may have to come to some far-reaching decisions in the course of the coming year" (p. 6). So that what, on behalf of the Council, I have to ask you is, if you adopt this Report, to leave to the Council the consideration of the situation, knowing they may have to come to some serious decisions.

The actual work that has been done is extremely satisfactory. You know by reputation the work of Miss Garrod at Athlit, and you are to hear this afternoon a report from the Director on the work at Samaria. With that we have every reason to be satisfied. It is all satisfactory, except with regard to the financial basis.

I now propose the adoption of the Report. I ask you, if you adopt the Accounts, to do so subject to necessary revision and approval by the Auditor. I move the adoption of the Accounts, together with the Report.

Professor MYRES seconded, and added that it was impossible during the course of one afternoon's meeting to do justice to the whole of the important work done by the School during the past year. On this occasion Mr. Crowfoot would give an account of the work at Samaria, and Miss Garrod had expressed her willingness, later in the season, to give a similar talk about her work at the Caves of Athlit.

There being no further comments, the CHAIRMAN took a vote on the motion that the Report and Accounts be adopted, and declared it carried.

Election of Officers and Council.

On the motion of Mr. J. QUIBELL, seconded by Dr. E. W. G. MASTERMAN, the present officers and retiring members of the Council were re-elected, the CHAIRMAN pointing out that the Council had power to introduce new blood by co-option.

Election of Auditors.

Mr. J. W. CROWFOOT proposed the re-election of Dr. E. W. G. Masterman and Mr. W. A. Buchanan as Auditors, if willing to serve again.

The CHAIRMAN : They are willing, and the Accounts will be put into proper form before they are submitted to them.

Mr. BUCHANAN : I have the audited Accounts of last year in my hand. We went through them very carefully, but there is a certain item in the Accounts that we did not obtain particulars about ; it was suggested that they would be sent on later, but we have not been provided with those particulars yet. The Auditors' statement last year read as follows : " We have audited the above Statement of Receipts and Expenditure as at 30th September last, and we have obtained all the information and explanations which we have required. In our opinion the statement is drawn up so as to exhibit a correct view of the position, subject to the footnote with reference to £509 12s. 5d. on Caves Account, details of which have not yet come to hand." I was told at the time we would get those very shortly. I make no complaint, but this occurred in October, 1932, and we have not had those details yet.

Professor MYRES : The Accounts in question were received by myself by post about the end of the year. There was one point which needed confirmation. Confirmation was obtained somewhere about the middle of February. I cannot account for the omission to transmit it to the Auditors.

The CHAIRMAN : There is no item which we will not be able to submit this time. We trust the Auditors not to sign a statement that they have received all the information they have required if they have not done so.

The motion for the re-election of the Auditors having been carried, the Business Meeting terminated.

OPEN MEETING.

Professor F. C. BURKITT, D.D., F.B.A., having taken the Chair, delivered the following address :—

[Published in October, 1933, Q.S.].

Excavations at Samaria.

Mr. J. W. CROWFOOT, C.B.E., M.A., F.S.A. : We have listened to a brilliant and arresting address.

If the subject of it is more relevant to this meeting than an address on the relations between archæology and Greek philosophy could be at a meeting of the School at Athens, it is a proof of the wider possibilities before us.

I suppose we shall have to admit the truth of the Chairman's main contention that there has been a real re-orientation of interest here in England, and that we can no longer look for support to the old sentiments which accorded a unique and pre-eminent value to every scrap of secular information which was forthcoming from the Holy Land.

But as the relations of archæology in general with theology have been raised we cannot pass over in silence Sir Frederick Kenyon's publication of the Chester Beatty Christian papyri, or the Mani papyri at Berlin, or the finds and rumoured finds at Dura Europos, although they were made in Syria and Egypt respectively, and it is highly improbable that any papyri will ever be found in Palestine.

And one may demur to the suggestion that none of the archæological finds which may be made in Palestine are likely to throw light on the theological topics to which the Chairman has referred. At Samaria we have been working in strata which were contemporary with Amos and Hosea. Now it is true that there was little to distinguish the Hebrew kingdom from other kingdoms in other parts of Syria : there were probably prophets in all of these, and similar types of economic organisation, a similar material culture and the same articles of commerce circulating between them. But we are not ethnologists travelling in the train of Nebuchadrezzar, and how little we know about any of these kingdoms and how difficult the only prophetic writings which have survived from this period are to understand. Surely any light on the economic conditions which the prophets denounced should be welcome : any evidence about the arts which suggested the imagery of which they were so fond, and some such evidence I can furnish you from Samaria.

The work at Samaria suggests another small point : it will show how much we are indebted to workers precisely in those other fields to which the Chairman has referred as dangerous rivals. Palestinian archæology is only intelligible in the light which is reflected upon it from Egypt at some periods, from Iraq, from Northern Syria, from the Hellenistic kingdoms and from the Roman Empire at others. Specialists in these fields may be able to get on without us : we cannot carry on without them.

These comments do not affect the gist of the matter : I am not prepared to question the Chairman's main contention about the re-orientation of interests in theological faculties or elsewhere at home, but I would draw your attention to another series of ‘ facts of the world around us,' facts which affect our position in Jerusalem as immediately as the situation in English Universities, the changes, namely, in Jerusalem which have followed in the train of Zionist development.

These changes are revolutionary, spectacular, paradoxical, and perhaps incongruous. Pre-war Jerusalem is a thing of the past : it belongs to ' history or oblivion.' The old Oriental walled city, which was the whole of Jerusalem within the memory of living people, is now materially an unimportant part of the city : it is emptier than it has been for centuries, whereas the new Jerusalem straggles out over the hills to the north, south and west, farther and farther, year by year. The people who live in the new city come from many different countries; but they are all European in outlook and culture and most of them speak or understand English. Jerusalem is becoming a European town with most of the paraphernalia of a modern city, cafés, cinemas, up-to-date book shops with ultra-modern art departments, above all, numberless agencies to cater for tourists and pilgrims : the greatest of these is King David's Hotel, a monstrous pile on the Nikephorion with some hundreds of rooms : it is as luxurious as any hotel in Egypt and more luxurious than any in Greece or Syria. The new Jerusalem is a raw place in some ways, but it is moving in the tradition of Solomon and Herod, and it is a fact that in spite of what may be happening here, more people do actually come to Jerusalem now than have come for hundreds of years : more interest is taken in the city and the land, more money is spent there, and that not exclusively by Jews or in Jewish interests.

Archæology is sharing in the boom : intelligent people in Jerusalem, of whom there are many, flock to popular lectures almost as enthusiastically as they flock to cinemas. And the qualms which you have heard to-night and the admittedly meagre results of some excavations, especially on the epigraphic side, have had no unpleasant repercussions in Palestine. Besides our own excavations at Samaria and Athlit there were three British excavations in the field last year, Sir Charles Marston's at Jericho, Sir Flinders Petrie's at Tell Ajjul, and the Wellcome-Colt expedition at Tell el Duweir : two American excavations on a still larger scale are now proceeding at Megiddo and Beisan : there are, or have been until recently, other American expeditions at Tell el Nasbeh, Tell Bait Mirsim, Bethzor, Bethshemesh and Tell el Ful : the Germans have been working intermittently for years at Shechem and the Danes at Shiloh : the Government Department of Antiquities is engaged on a large programme at Athlit, and there are minor but often very fruitful clearances being made from time to time by the Department, by the Hebrew University and by various Christian religious bodies ; and lastly there are two prehistorians at work besides Miss Garrod.

Only four of the places I have mentioned lie on main roads, Jericho, Tell el Nasbeh, Shechem and Samaria : most of them are in very remote spots : the excavators dig, they pack up whatever the Government allows them to take away, and then hurry off to London or California or wherever else they have come from. Jerusalem sees nothing of them : the only permanent representatives of archæological research in Jerusalem are in the Department of Antiquities to Foreign Schools and the Hebrew University. The first duty of the Schools is towards their own students, but a wider sphere is obviously open to them : it is their business to foster and communicate the academic spirit which breathed through the Chairman's address : what missionaries call the ‘ field ’ is a large one, and the new material is abundant.

Considerably more than half our regular income is derived from academic grants. That is in itself very encouraging but, unfortunately, our income from all sources together is not adequate. We own no buildings : we have no endowments : Government does not help us, and year by year the deficit on our annual working expenditure has to be made up from non-recurrent grants and donations. In a time of special stress we surrendered the flat in which the School was housed, our Library is in the American School and our equipment is stored at the French School : the position is hardly dignified. We want a house or a flat and we want a Deputy Director to take the Director's place when he is away excavating. Rents are easier now in Jerusalem owing to the multiplication of new buildings, and I propose to explore the situation again in the coming year. If a flat were found and a Deputy Director could be secured *with his salary* from one of the supporting Universities in the United Kingdom or the Dominions, the basis for a satisfactory reorganisation would be laid. (If the Chairman is correct in his diagnosis there must be more leisure in theological and Semitic departments than there used to be.) A reorganisation on these lines would enable us to do much more for our students. The actual number of students admitted last year was ten, but they were all admitted for field work, five for Samaria and five for Athlit, and only two of them spent more than a few days in Jerusalem. The only financial assistance we can offer them as a School comes from the studentship fund which was founded a few years ago by the generosity of Sir Robert Mond : this benefaction, which has been very much appreciated, enables us to meet the most necessary travelling expenses from England to Palestine, but all living costs when excavations are not in actual progress must be met by the students themselves.

Mr. Crowfoot then described, with slides, the excavations which had been undertaken at Samaria this year, in conjunction with the Palestine Exploration Fund, Harvard University and the Hebrew University in Jerusalem. Some more ivories, which date probably from the time of Ahab, were found near the probable site of his 'House of Ivory,' and an amazing semi-circular tower, also of the period of the Kings of Israel (Plates II and III) This stands nearly twenty feet high, and the Palestine Government has decided to expropriate the ground on which it stands and keep it permanently open. The great wealth and luxury which is indicated by the remains and the superiority of the buildings to any of the same period which have been found on other sites in Palestine prove to what an extent the revenue of the country must have been concentrated in the capital during the time of the Israelite monarchy, and form a striking comment on the denunciations of the prophets, in particular of the contemporary prophet Amos (see Plate I).

Other pictures were shown of the Roman city which was built above the old Israelite capital. The most interesting buildings discovered in the last season were a Roman theatre (Plates IV and V), Roman shops on either side of the columned street and extensive remains of Roman aqueducts, all dating probably from the third century of our era.

Votes of Thanks.

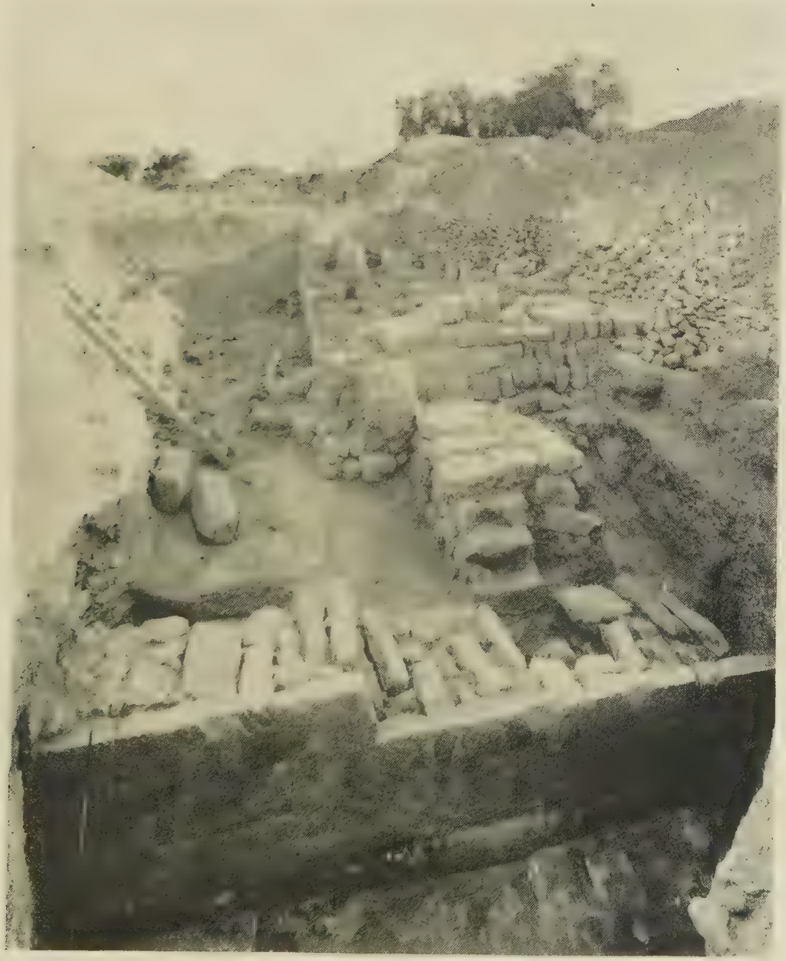
Sir Frederic Kenyon, in proposing a vote of thanks to those who had contributed to the meeting, said that it was usual on such occasions to thank the Chairman for a very stimulating address. He was not, however, sure whether "stimulating" was the epithet to apply to the address by Professor Burkitt! It might even have been regarded as somewhat depressing. Nevertheless, it was stimulating in one thing, namely, interest, and it certainly could be described as a challenging address, in that it made one think over the basis of support of a Society of that kind, the reasons why it was not more universally popular, and what could be done to make it so. The speaker added that he did not propose to discuss the Chairman's observations: he agreed with a great many of them; not quite with all, because he did not think it true to say that there was any falling off of interest in archæology in the country at the present time. Personally, he thought the contrary was true, that the last generation had developed very greatly the interest in archæology. What was necessary was to persuade people that the study of the Bible had much to gain from archæological study; and that necessarily must apply more to the study of the Old Testament than the New. It might be possible to say that the centre of interest had changed from the Old Testament to the New, that whereas in the seventeenth century people knew their Old Testament a great deal better than they knew the New, nowadays, unfortunately, the opposite was true. Not much light was to be expected from archæology on the interpretation of the New Testament. From the Old Testament, on the contrary, there was a great deal to learn, as the Director had pointed out, and in that connection people were prepared to be interested. The main trouble from the point of view of the School was that Palestine was so completely sacked on many occasions that the remains were not so spectacular and showy as those in many parts of the world. He proposed a vote of thanks to the Chairman because his address had given all present much to think of and put many truths before the meeting.

Secondly, he proposed a vote of thanks to the Director, partly for his address during the course of which he had put before the meeting the results of last season's work, and partly also, for his direction of all the work that had been going on in Samaria and elsewhere on behalf of the School. It was wearing and trying work; work requiring judgment, firmness, patience and many other qualities. All present would desire to express gratitude to Mr. Crowfoot for all he had done in those capacities.

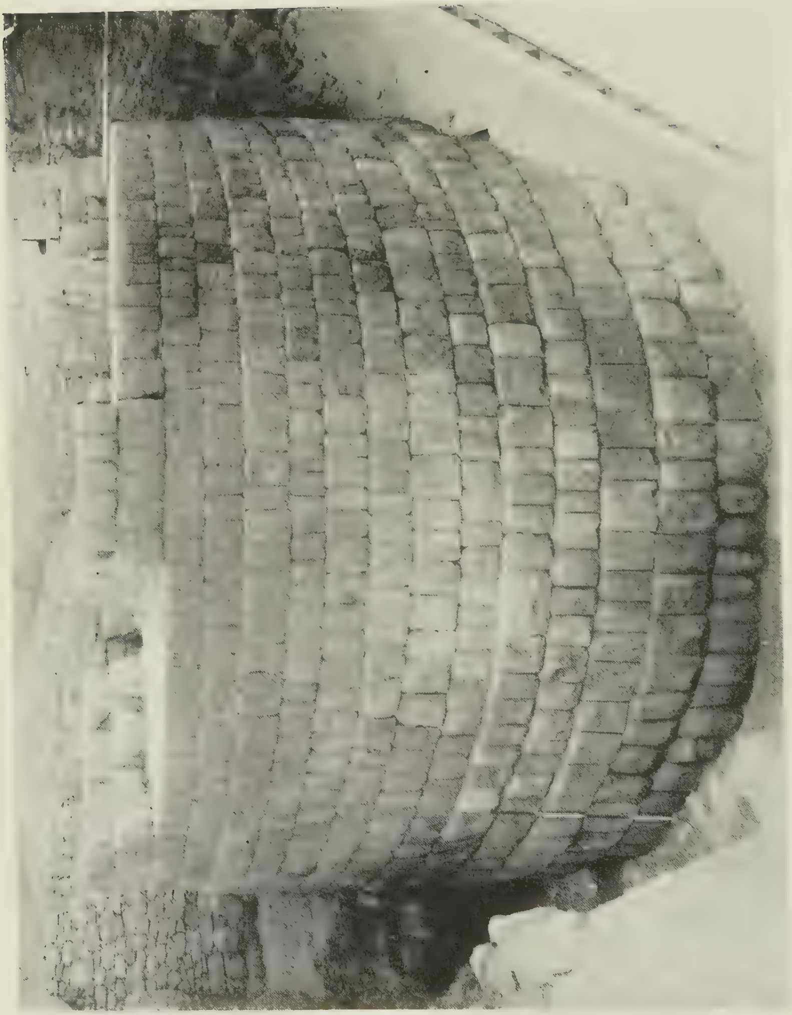
Thirdly, he proposed a vote of thanks to the Palestine Exploration Fund for permission to hold the meeting in its rooms. They were grateful to the Fund with which the School worked in constant association and in most amicable relations.

Professor MYRES had great pleasure in seconding the votes of thanks. Professor Burkitt had delivered what to him, at all events, had been a stimulating address, because it was always good to have one's ideas clarified and a perfectly definite position stated, to which one had to face up. Speaking as Secretary of the School, which had to face up to that position, he felt that if, as Professor Burkitt held, the theological and the archæological interest were historically and perhaps inevitably drifting apart, it meant that archæologists had to look somewhere else for support for their enterprises, and to develop a historical standpoint and outlook which would justify continued and, he hoped, energetic support for the very important scientific enterprises in which the British School of Archæology in Jerusalem was engaged. The School was best known for its definitely archæological work, but it did not exist entirely for that. What had always been wanted in Jerusalem and what, in former years, had been, in part, supplied by what might be described as the advance-base of the Palestine Exploration Fund, and what would continue to be wanted, in larger and larger measure, was a place where not only specialists but intelligent visitors might count upon finding, first, the necessary books and maps, which would enable them to make the most of their time and effort while in Palestine. That was a service which in Rome and in Athens the British Schools of Archæology had always rendered and would be able to render in far larger measure if they were better supported than at present. In Jerusalem the School had that first duty to the British community, to the community at large in Jerusalem, and to the increasing number of intelligent and interested travellers who visited that country.

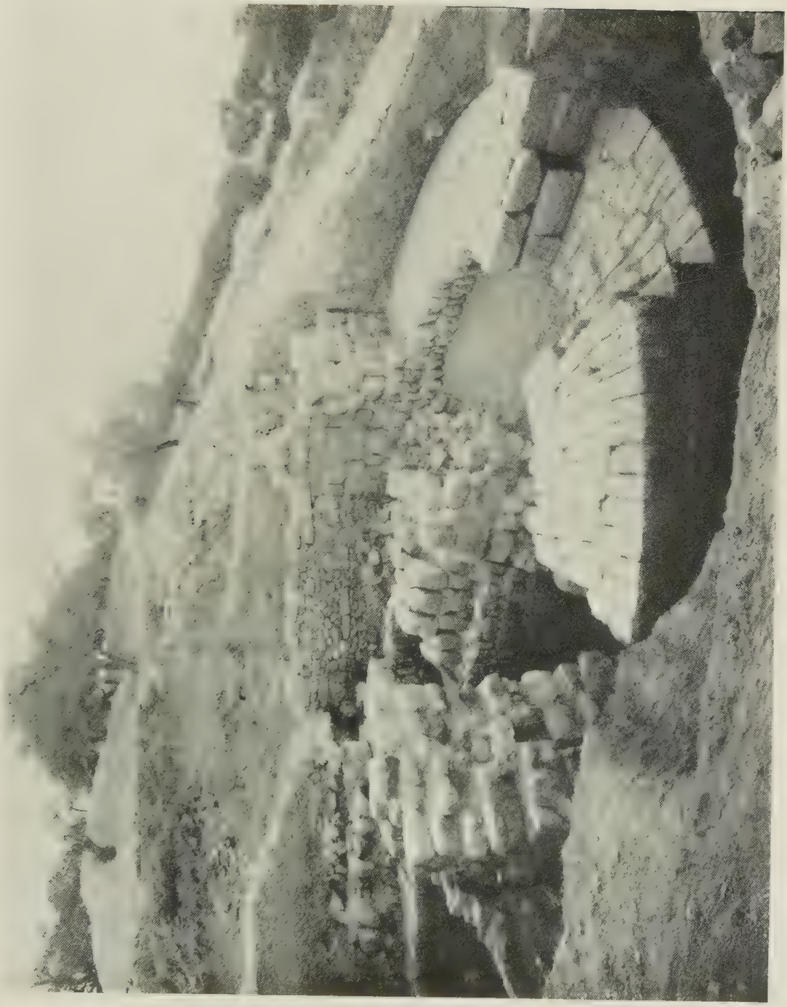
Secondly—and this, again, was one of the reasons for the foundation of the School—quite apart from professional theologians and ministers of religion, there was a steady succession of keen young people who felt that their studies up to that point required that they should see for themselves not only the "Holy Places" of old, but also some quite profane places, "tells" in the Philistine country,



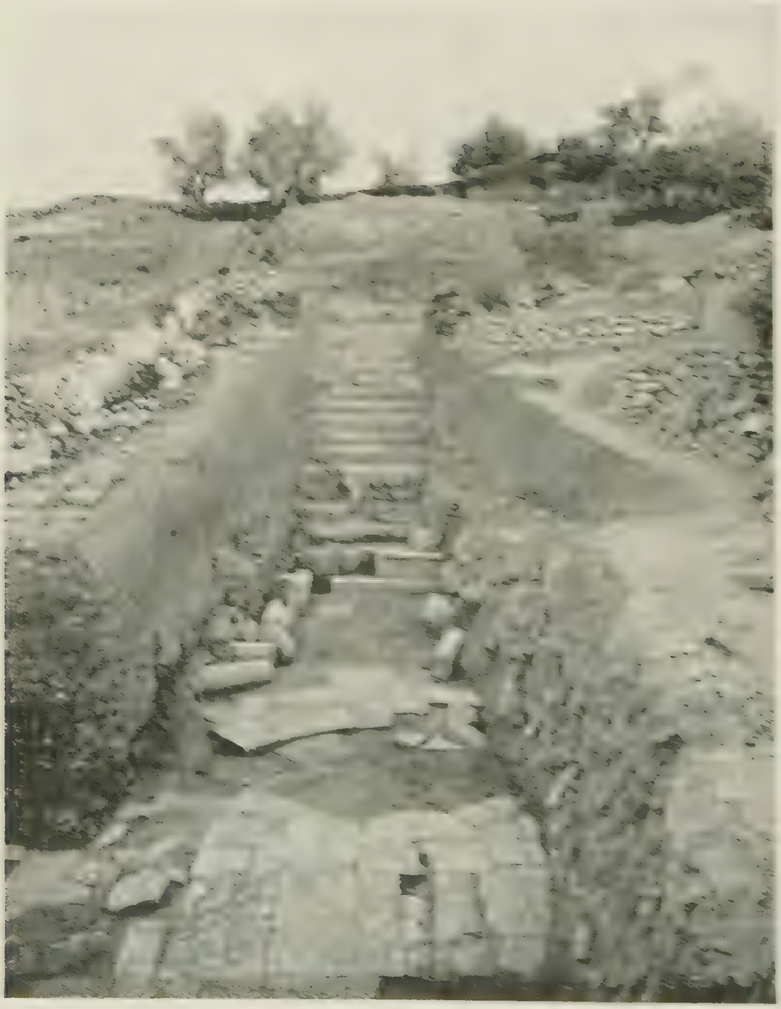
ISRAELITE WALL. SAMARIA.



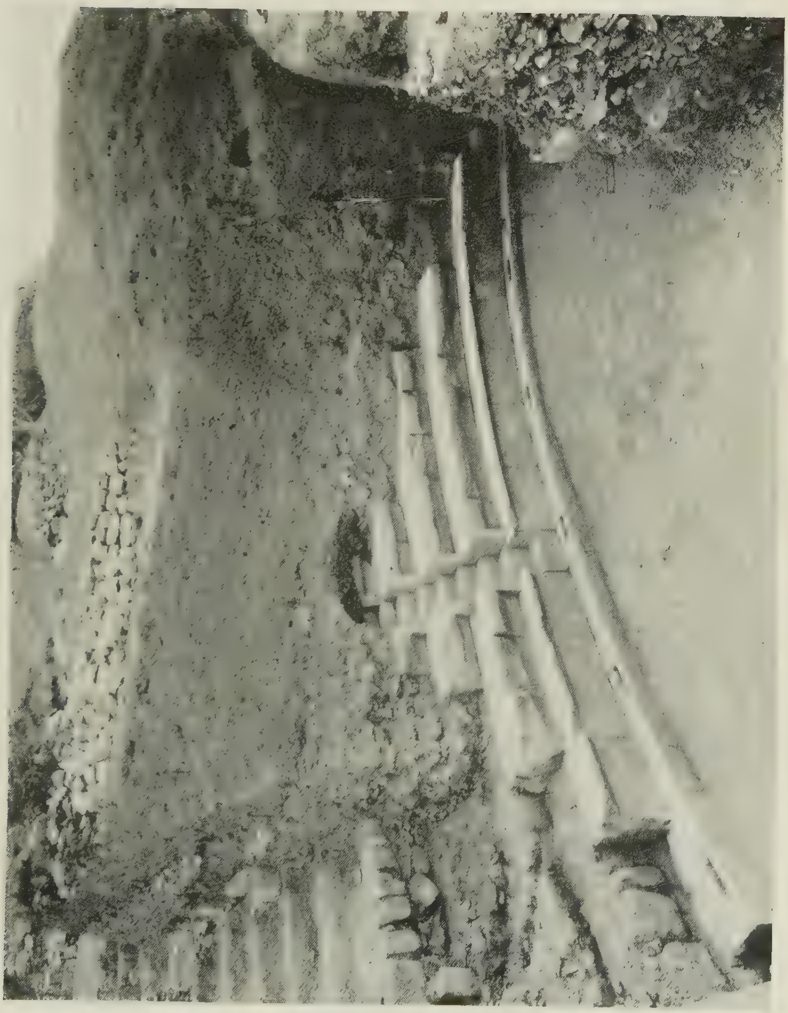
SEMI-CIRCULAR ISRAELITE TOWER. SAMARIA.



Semi-circular Israelite Tower. Samaria.



Roman Theatre—general View from N. [illegible]



Seats in the Roman Theatre, Samaria.

the caves on Mt. Carmel, and so forth. Only since the war released Palestine from its previous *régime*, had it been possible to know the country better. Palestine was coming once again into world history, and had its own part to play, in its contribution to our picture of the ancient world. For this it was necessary to train people and provide facilities for students. The British School in Jerusalem had had more students, on an average, for some years past, coming out to work in its excavation camp and otherwise, than had the British Schools in Athens or in Rome. It was necessary to ensure that people should continue to take that interest in antiquities, and not only in antiquities, but in the topography and geography, and in such matters as Mrs. Crowfoot's work on the plants and plant folklore of Palestine, and the way in which the plants had worked their way into the lives and thoughts of the people. Students of various kinds were going out to Jerusalem ; and the School must be enabled to do a great deal more for them all, as well as advancing knowledge by original work of the kind which Mr. Crowfoot had so graphically illustrated.

It was with the greatest pleasure that he seconded the vote of thanks to Professor Burkitt for having put the position, as he understood it, so clearly before the meeting, and given fresh incentive to stand by, and keep going, the British School of Archæology in Jerusalem. For it was, quite definitely, a very serious question how long, without greater support, it would be possible to keep going that very important instrument of study.

KHIRBET FAHIL.

By John Richmond.

I. The General Features of the Site.

Khirbet Fahil, under which name is included the whole of the ancient site, though strictly applicable only to the eminence on which the modern village stands, is situated in a similar position to that of Beisan across the Jordan. Below the main range of the Jebel Ajlun, yet raised slightly above the Ghor proper, it stands on the Tabaqat or terraces of Fahil. The Tabaqat rises in a steep though quite low cliff from the plain of the Ghor, and runs back eastward almost level for about a mile to the foot of the mountains of Ajlun. It extends north and south from the Seil-el-Hammeh to the Wady Jirm-el-Moz, a distance of about a mile and a half at its greatest extent, and is a very notable feature of this side of the Transjordan mountains. It can be distinguished quite clearly from as far away as the Nazareth-Jenin road near Afuleh. At the south-east corner of this flat tableland is the site of the ancient Pella: it comprises two or three clearly-marked divisions – first, the Khirbet Fahil properly so-called: this is a low, flat-topped mound with steep sides on the north and south and gentle slopes at the east and west ends: it is roughly triangular in shape, with a blunted apex at the west end. It rises little above the level of Tabaqat but is fairly high above the Wady Jirm-el-Moz, while immediately south of it is a plain about 100 metres wide, in which gush the springs of the Ain-el-Jirm. The second important division of the site is the Tell-el-Husn, which, as Schumacher suggests,[1] must be the site of the Acropolis of the ancient city. It rises very steeply from the south side of the wady, immediately opposite the Khirbet and towers a considerable height above it, its sides are steep, especially on the north and south, and it is attached by a narrow neck to the mountains to the east, but from this neck a steep climb is necessary to gain the summit. The position must have been almost impregnable. A series of small "tells" flank the Khirbet on the north eastern corner; these are the Tulul-el-Tabaqat and the Jebel-el-Khas which contains the eastern cemetery; east of these the Jebel Ajlun rises rapidly. These tells are divided from the Khirbet by shallow valleys. To the west and north of the Khirbet stretches the flat expanse of the Tabaqat. The ancient roads leading from Pella seem to have been three, one which led to Scythopolis ran from south of the Basilica through the necropolis and down to the Ghor by a small valley (marked Benat Yakub in Schumacher's plan), which is the only descent in the neighbourhood from the Tabaqat to the Ghor practicable for wheeled traffic. The second runs up the Wady el-Tantur (marked Wady Kufr Abil by Schumacher), which has traces of paving stones now fallen into the wady, and is now a much-frequented road leading to Beit Idis. The third is the present road to Kufr Abil, which skirts the south-west of Tell el-Husn, and runs southward along the foot of the hills which contain the southern cemetery, turns left up a very steep wady, and so up to Kufr Abil. The reasons for thinking this to be an ancient road are, first, that it runs to Kufr Abil, which itself contains Hellenistic remains, and, secondly, that there is a column with a square "die" base lying by the side of the road a little less than half-way to Kufr Abil; these reasons, of course, do not carry complete conviction.

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[1] *Schumacher; Abila, Pella and 'Ajlûn*, P.E.F., 1889.

The Wady el-Tantur which runs up slightly south of east from the Ain el-Jirm is narrow and rocky, and only carries water in the rainy season; it widens slightly into a small plain between Khirbet Fahil and Tell el-Husn, where the springs which supply the Seil el Jirm take their rise. This plain widens again to about a quarter of a mile, and here lies due west of Tell el-Husn. The stream falls steeply at the west end of this plain and at the same time the valley narrows considerably, though remaining wide enough for cultivation as far west as the Mill (ruined in Schumacher's time, but now worked). The sides of the wady are steep, on the north are vertical in places, and only easily accessible at two points, immediately west of the Khirbet and, by the mill above-mentioned. The southern side, though having no rocky or precipitous features like the northern one, is still steep, except at the south of the cultivated plain (Schumacher's map).

The features of archæological interest not in the actual site of Pella are best inserted here. The most important is the thermal spring in the Wady Hammeh. This is the wady which bounds the Tabaqat on the north, and is situated about a mile or a little more from Khirbet Fahil. This spring, unlike the thermal springs at Pella, still retains its thermal character, and is largely frequented by the Arabs of the district for its curative properties. There are some remains of Roman masonry near the spring, and the present bath house, a small circular building which surrounds the actual spring, is partly built of ancient stones, one of which bears the remains, about four letters, of an inscription ; this is below the level of the water, and the letters could not be distinguished. In the Ghor, just below the cliff of the Tabaqat, and near the present road to Beisan, are the well-preserved remains of an ancient water channel of good masonry, which led the water to turn a mill now disappeared.

The cliffs of the Tabaqat facing the Ghor contain numerous caves, the lower ones being used as stables by the Bedouin, and it may well be that the higher ones at least were anciently inhabited.

II. The Caves in the North Side of the Wady Jirm el-Moz.—The caves marked on Schumacher's plan "anchorite caves" are situated in a low precipice of rock, nowhere more than 3 metres high, about half-way up the north side of the valley. They are now, as when he visited them, choked with precipitates, and no evidence is available as to their being artificial or inhabited. Schumacher describes them as anchorite caves on the analogy of one which he was able to enter, and which appeared to be without doubt an inhabited and artificial cave. This cave is an undoubtedly artificial chamber (near the "A" of anchorite on Schumacher's map) which is now used by the Arabs as a store, and when visited it was completely full of *tibn*. If this identification is correct, the passages A and B (see Schumacher's, p. 37) are now blocked up, and the door, 5 ft. high, has been slightly enlarged.

Further west, the side of the valley becomes higher and more precipitous, and is pierced with numerous caves or tunnels, the greater number of which are unfortunately inaccessible. It was possible to climb up a certain distance and reach the mouths of two separate groups of passages or tunnels. (See sketch plan, text Fig. 1.)

Schumacher was able to penetrate for 60 ft. into some of these tunnels ; they are now accessible for less than half that distance. He also could feel a cool draught of air from the interior of the hill, which enabled him to support the fearful smell. The smell is still there but the draught of air could not be detected. The steps which he mentioned, if they were in the tunnels visited, are now buried in rubbish.

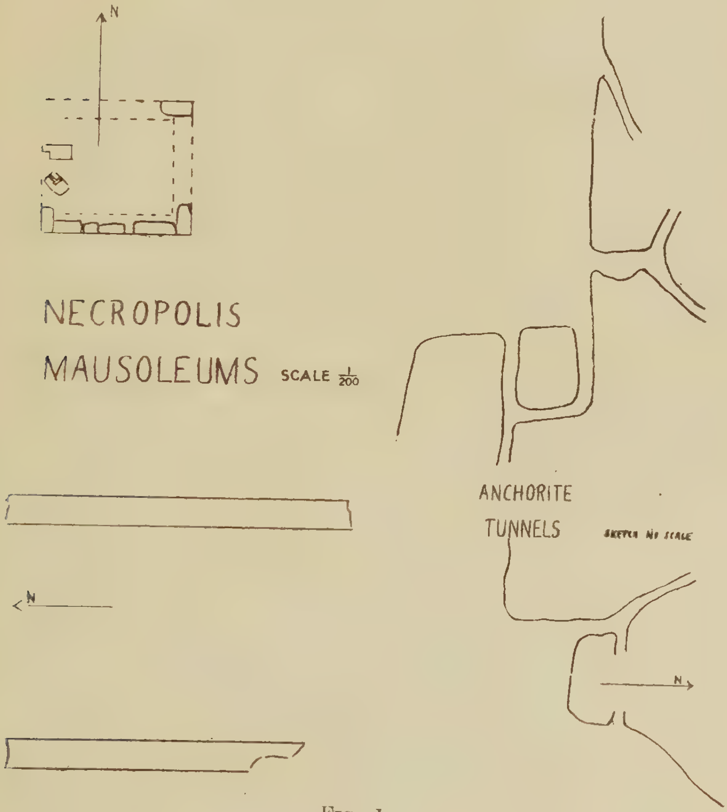

N
NECROPOLIS
MAUSOLEUMS
SCALE $\frac{1}{200}$
N
ANCHORITE
TUNNELS
SKETCH NO SCALE
N

Fig. 1.

The passages bear the general appearance of being artificial, they are more or less regular in shape, but there is no decisive proof of this in the shape of tool-marks or masonry. The tunnels are now about 1 metre in height near the entrance and about the same in breadth, the breadth decreasing rapidly to about 60-70 cm. and then appears to remain constant. The height decreases steadily, and in no case could they be penetrated for more than 10 metres.

Turning round the headland, one reaches another cliff face (illustrated, Schumacher, p. 40) in which are numerous caves which seem to be nearly all natural. No trace of human handiwork or habitation could be found, except that of the Bedouin who apparently use them from time to time as shelters.

Going down the Wady one passes another dry thermal spring of Arab workmanship similar to the one at the foot of the Khirbet described by Schumacher. Just west of this, near the opening into the Ghor, is an ancient quarry face bearing clearly the marks of tools.

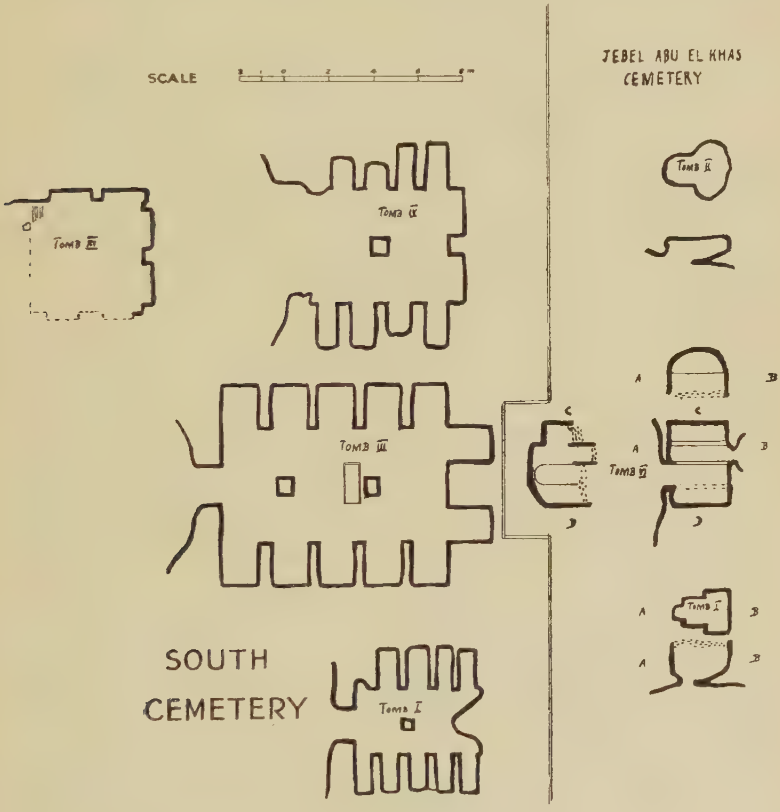
The tunnels seem to be the most interesting of these caves, and they could be cleared at small expense. They seem to afford, apart from large-scale excavations in the cemeteries and the Khirbet, the best chance of finding archæological evidence of Early Christian life at Pella.

III. The Cemeteries.—The burial grounds of the ancient site of Khirbet Fahil are extremely extensive, and cemeteries are to be found on all sides of the ancient town, unfortunately all have been systematically robbed. The first in importance, and probably the earliest in date, stretches along the side of the hills to the east of the road leading to Kufr Abil. When Schumacher visited the site in 1887 these tombs were much better preserved than they are to-day; now no lintels remain in place, and two doors only are left at the mouths of their respective tombs. The burial places are partly rock cut chambers with a central room and Kokim, and partly shallow graves, some rock-cut, some dug in the very soft rock and lined with masonry. The sepulchral caves are apparently used in the winter as stables for goats and sheep, or as human habitation by the Arabs—all showed signs of such use recently, but none were actually so inhabited when examined in July, 1933. The following is a description of eleven of these tombs. (Text Fig. 2b.)

Tomb I.—Central chamber with Kokim, five on the south, four on the north, central pillar of rock left standing, large " buttress " of rock left projecting into the chamber from the east end.

Tomb II.—Similar to Tomb I, smaller, four Kokim on each side, without buttress; too choked with rubbish for measurement.

Tomb III.—Central chamber with Kokim, five on each of the northern and southern sides and two at the east end, two square pillars of rock left standing. One plain sarcophagus between the two pillars, used as a feeding-trough for goats.


SCALE
2 1 0 2 4 6 8 m
Tomb VI
Tomb IV
Tomb III
SOUTH CEMETERY
Tomb I
JEBEL ABU EL KHAS CEMETERY
Tomb II
A
B
C
Tomb III
D
Tomb I

(*b*) (*a*)

Fig. 2.

Tomb IV.—Central chamber with Kokim, five on the south, four on the north side, two Arcisolia in the east end. One square pillar of rock left standing. Entrance enlarged by Arabs or by a fall of rock.

Tomb V.—The door jambs are in position, but lintel and roof of the antechamber are fallen in. This is the first tomb with definite traces of such an antechamber. The central chamber is similar to the foregoing. A moulded sarcophagus is in this tomb, also a dead goat, which prevented me staying longer than was necessary to satisfy myself that there was no inscription. (Plate iv., Fig. 1.)

Tomb VI.—A large tomb of the same type. It has lost its character through Arab enlargements for the purpose of habitation.

Tomb VII.—Enlarged out of recognition for Arab habitation. Part of a sarcophagus cut in the living rock has been spared for use as a manger.

Tomb VIII.—Door jambs and door in position, lintel gone. Enlarged by Arabs. Two sarcophagi, one for a child, both with a plain moulding round the edge. (Plate iv., Fig. 2.)

Tomb IX.—Very large, two chambers, form lost through Arab enlargement; used as a stable.

Tomb X.—Semi-circular in shape, possibly originally circular, reduced by a fall of rock, domical roof, diameter 3 m. approximately. Used as a kitchen.

Tomb XI.—The rock has collapsed and destroyed the entrance, and the whole of the south side of this tomb. A fragment of door jamb remained. It seems that there were steps leading down from the door to the floor of the tomb. Two Arcisolia in each of the north and east walls. Very rough and careless work.

It seems certain that nothing could be gained by excavation in this cemetery. The sepulchral caves must have been all discovered by the Arabs. Some of the poorer shallow graves might be found intact, but could probably yield little or nothing.

The cemetery on the small hill east of the Khirbet seems to be later in character than the one just described. Fewer tombs permit of entry, the shallow masonry lined graves predominate, the one well-preserved rock cut tomb is of the Arcisolium type. A few sarcophagus fragments and door sills are scattered about.

Tomb I. Small tomb for single burial, domical roof, entered from the top. See plan and section. (Text Fig. 2a.)

Tomb II. Shapeless rock-cut tomb, similar in general arrangement to the Bronze Age tombs at Jericho.

Tomb III. Same type as II, but with entrance at the north.

Tomb IV. Similar to II and III ; see plan.

Tomb V. The door emplacement survives in this tomb, the door appears to have fallen down inwards. Entrance impossible without digging.

Tomb VI. Arcisolium tomb, well preserved ; see plan and section. (Text Fig. 2a.)

Tomb VII. This tomb has been entered by robbers through a hole made in the east wall of Tomb VI. Entrance is now impossible.

There are many depressions in the surface marking the positions of other tombs, and excavation here might produce some unrobbed burials.

The Tulul-el-Tabaqat were also used as burial grounds, though to a less extent than the two aforementioned localities. Some broken sarcophagi lie near the road to El Hamma. A few depressions indicate emplacements of tombs in the western Tell. One tomb of the same type as No. VI in the east cemetery can be looked into but not entered, it is smaller than No. VI and less well-preserved. On the south slopes of the western Tell are some terrace walls of poor masonry. The south slope of the eastern Tell has a few shallow graves with cover stones, but nothing else of interest.

The large flat expanse west of the Khirbet and north of the Wady Jirm-el-Moz was a large necropolis which must have bordered both sides of the ancient road to Scythopolis. All this necropolis is now ploughed for crops and probably most of the graves have been destroyed in this way even when spared by tomb robbers. Although the Arab plough does not go very deep it was probably sufficient to disturb the very shallow graves which were in use at Pella. Little remains of this necropolis, a few scattered column drums, some broken rough sarcophagi, meagre traces of two mausoleums ; the remains can best be arranged in tabular form.

1. Three column bases, " die " type, noticed by Schumacher.

2. Single sarcophagus, broken, more carefully worked than usual on this site.

3. Small mausoleum.

4. Group of five broken sarcophagi.

5. Larger mausoleum of very good masonry, width 7m. approximately. Length indeterminate.

6. Two broken sarcophagi, near 5.

7. Some graves lined with masonry near the Basilica.

IV. The Buildings.—The buildings whose purpose and plan can be still recognized are few and badly preserved. The most important of these is the large Basilica. (Text Fig. 3a.) This church is published by Schumacher in his *Pella*, but the plan he reproduces has some inaccuracies. This was probably due to piles of fallen masonry which encumbered the site in his time, these have largely been cleared by the villagers for building purposes and the plan has been left clearer. The church is a three aisled Basilica with three apses, having three doors in the west end and probably two on each of the north and south sides, though certain traces remain of only two of these. There was certainly no fourth northern aisle as shown on

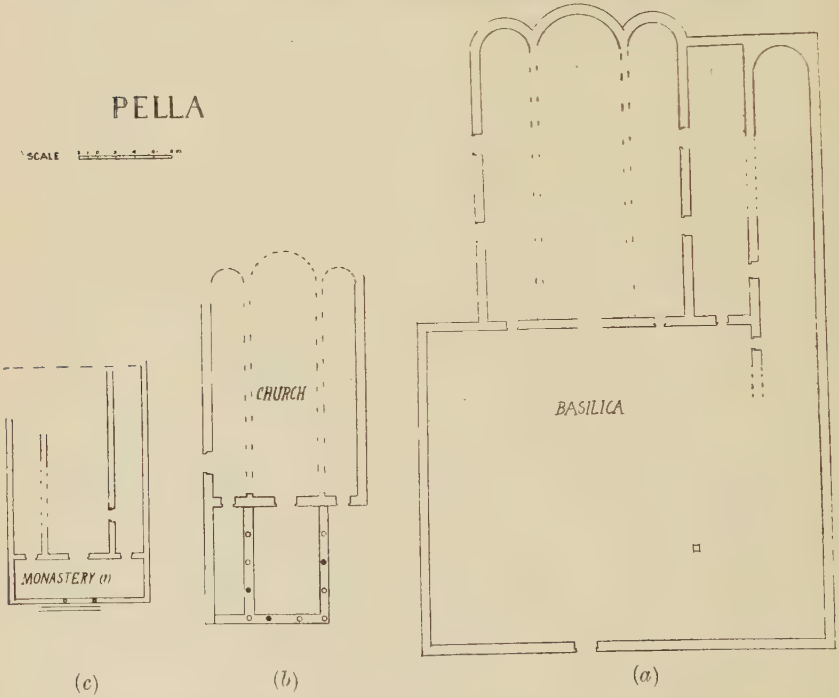


FIG. 3.

Schumacher's plan. Of the western narthex or vestibule shown by him no trace was found. South of the building is a long rectangular room or vestibule entered from both east and west, and with at least one door on the south. South of this is another long room with an apsidal east end, of which the western closing wall has disappeared. The wall dividing these two rooms runs westwards beyond the west wall of the church and has a door in this prolongation ; it is uncertain how far west this wall continued. The church proper was divided into aisles by colonnades, the foundations of the stylobate of the southern one are partly visible and the position of two of the columns in colonnade and of one in the northern colonnade can be distinguished. (Text Fig. 3b.)

The church had a western and a northern courtyard, of which the western was the most important. It was entered by a large door in the western wall and probably was surrounded by a colonnade, though this is not very clear. The northern courtyard is irregular in shape and its perimeter is not completely traceable ; in the south-west corner is a large depression, rectangular in shape, whose purpose is obscure ; it is full of fallen masonry.

The masonry of the buildings is good, large, well-squared stones, the mortar has been completely washed out, probably by the rains. The detail is badly weathered. The capitals are Byzantine in form and the bases Attic.

This building is rapidly being destroyed as it is the nearest and most convenient quarry for the village. It would be interesting to find out the purpose of the depression in the northern courtyard, and the plan could probably be completed by a very little clearance work. The church must date from the Byzantine period, probably the fifth or the sixth century.

The Theatre lies just on the edge of the Wady near the main spring at the foot of the south eastern corner of the Khirbet. It is so destroyed that it is practically unrecognizable, in fact, we did not recognize it until we came to plan it, then the boy with the staff following the line of the wall was seen to be tracing a curve and it became apparent that these were remains of a small theatre. It faces south looking across the Wady to the foot of Tell el-Husn. The scena has completely disappeared. A passage in the thickness of the wall runs round the semi-circular part. Only the substructures of the seats are visible. It is built of soft limestone, and large blocks, which have weathered very badly. The height of the masonry now here exceeds two metres. It seems to have been destroyed during the Byzantine period as one corner of the building, called by Schumacher the Temple, lies over the perimeter of the theatre (see plan, Pl. V).

The Temple of Schumacher provides no coherent plan. The site is a flattened platform surrounded on N.W. and E. sides by rising ground, massive retaining walls support the platform on the south. The approach was from the west by steps into a kind of columned portico, thence into the main building which was rectangular and has almost entirely disappeared, on its south side is a sort of a narrow vestibule. Columns are scattered in profusion, especially at the western end of the site; they range in a diameter from 100 to 45 cms., the caps are Ionic and Corinthian, the former so badly weathered as to make it difficult to distinguish the form—no caps were found to fit the largest columns. Plinths of two different forms are also to be found, and two well carved and well preserved consoles (Pl. I, Fig. 1). There are also some moulded voussoirs, probably from the arch from the main western entrance. Though there is no decisive evidence, the building gives the general impression of a pagan building modified for use as a church; this is borne out by Schumacher's discovery of the symbols α and ω on some of the drums. The largest columns are on the north, and do not seem to fit in, perhaps they were part of the pagan building, and were not included in the church. The last of the important buildings is perched high up on the slope of the hill on the north side of the Wady el-Tantur, overlooking the Khirbet. It seems to have been a complex of monastery buildings. It is surrounded by a boundary wall and has two clearly defined buildings, one of which is a church. This is destroyed very badly, and the masonry nowhere subsists to a height of more than two courses. There are vestiges of a triapsidal east end, three doors in the west end and one on the north side. On the west end, but only opposite the central door, is a rectangular portico, surrounded by columns. The aisles were divided by colonnades, the only trace of which remaining is the respond at the west end of the northern colonnade; this was a plain pilaster, whose Corinthian cap is still lying beside it. The capitals are all of the Corinthian form, and seem to be earlier than those of the large Basilica, but the triapsidal east end is usually taken to be a late development, at any rate post-Constantinian. The portico of this church is an unusual feature, and would perhaps enable scholars to date it more closely. The lintels of the door in the north wall and of the central west door are still lying near the jambs—one is illustrated by Schumacher (Abila, Pella and Northern Ajlun, p. 56). There is no evidence of Crusader work.

The second building inside the compound lies to the north east of the church slightly higher up the hill. It is approached from the west by a flight of steps ; only the top two remain. There is a western vestibule with a pair of columns, and three doors give entrance to the main building. This is divided by walls longitudinally into three rooms. The masonry is not so good as in the church, and the walls are thinner. The eastern wall is completely destroyed. (Pl. I, Fig. 2.)

Among the debris lying about inside the compound is a fragment of a stone altar rail (Text Fig. 3c) and the white marble column shaft. A modern Arab construction obscures the north-east corner of the church portico.

There are no other buildings on the whole site which can be planned without preliminary clearance work, but a few features are worthy of notice.

The buildings on Tell el-Husn are numerous ; on all sides are terrace walls, and the summit has many walls of various degrees of destruction. The thickest remains are on the south side, and more especially on the lower slopes of the western side, where the slope is less steep than on the other three sides. These seem to have been private houses ; the walls are well built ; a number of column drums are scattered about. One doorway still stands buried up to the moulding at the head of the jamb. There is less carved detail here than on the Temple area, and the buildings seem to have been less pretentious. The summit has several lines of foundations, all of rather poor masonry ; three large, well-cut stones, one a moulded lintel, are the only evidence of a building of any importance.

In the Khirbet itself the ancient ruins are concentrated on the slopes to the west, south and east, and especially to the south.

On the summit no walls remain above ground level. The walls on the south slope are possibly defensive walls of various periods, (Pl. II, Fig. 1), possibly merely the walls of houses. The lowest of the walls at the west end of the south slope had barrel vaults running back from it into the side of the Khirbet; one of these vaults still subsists, but is, unfortunately, choked with masonry. Most of the walls of this area are of good masonry, but they have been patched by less expert workmen; in the best walls the stones average 80 by 50 cm. The joints are broken, stretchers predominate with an occasional complete course of headers. The horseshoe arch mentioned by Schumacher has disdisappeared. The S.E. slopes, especially those which overlook the Temple area, are covered with masonry, all very ruinous, and for the most part rough dressed foundation courses are all that remain. One or two column drums, some door sills and jambs, are all the detail to be seen, with a fragment of a small grey granite column. Near the bottom of the slope a massive wall of similar masonry to that of the theatre runs southward, mounting slowly up the slope, it disappears under the modern path. At the very bottom of the slope near the main spring runs a wall of good masonry 135 cm. thick; it seems to have been reconstructed at a late period, as column drums are in places built into it. The northern slopes are bare of walls, as are the north-eastern.

In the valley dividing the Khirbet from the eastern hills are extensive ruins, one rectangular building 22 m. by 13 m., without any distinctive features, can be recognised. In this area is a fragment of what appears to have been a paved street, the paving stones are small and irregular, and the construction is probably of a late date.

In general, the buildings at Khirbet Fahil are badly preserved, both constructionally and in carved detail. They seem to date very largely from the Byzantine epoch, though some are reconstructions of earlier buildings. A few would probably repay clearance work. The most attractive areas for excavation seem to be the southern slopes of Khirbet el-Fahil and the western slopes of Tell el-Husn.

V. The Pottery.—The bulk of the pottery on the site is naturally Byzantine, but there are a number of Roman sherds and on the summit of the Khirbet a fair proportion of Mediæval Arabic glazed

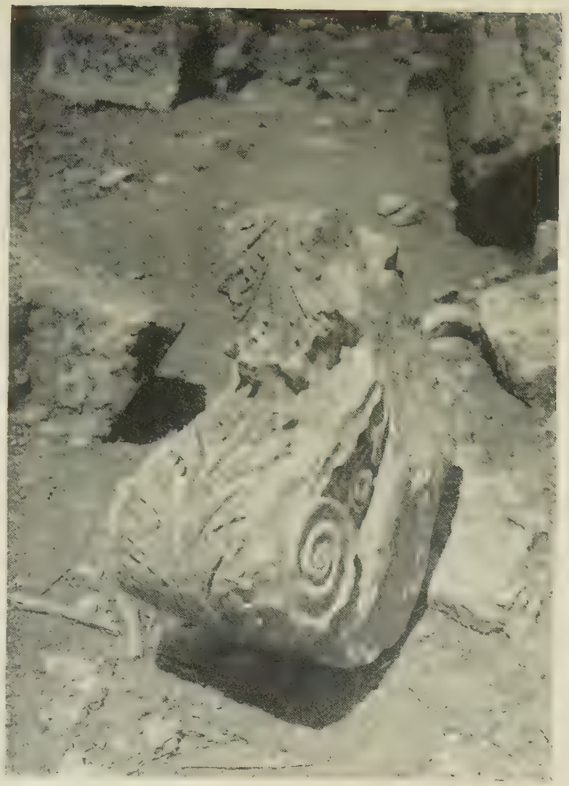


FIG. 1.—CONSOLE. TEMPLE AREA.

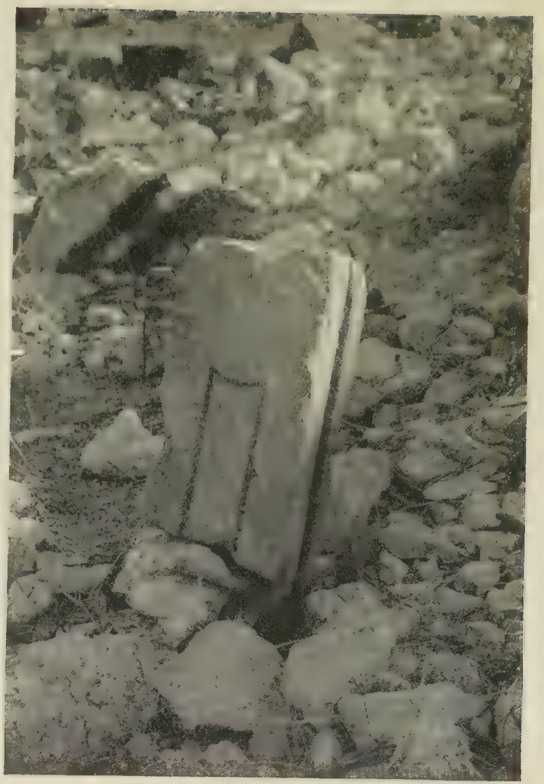


FIG. 2.—ALTAR RAIL FRAGMENT.
"MONASTERY" COMPOUND.

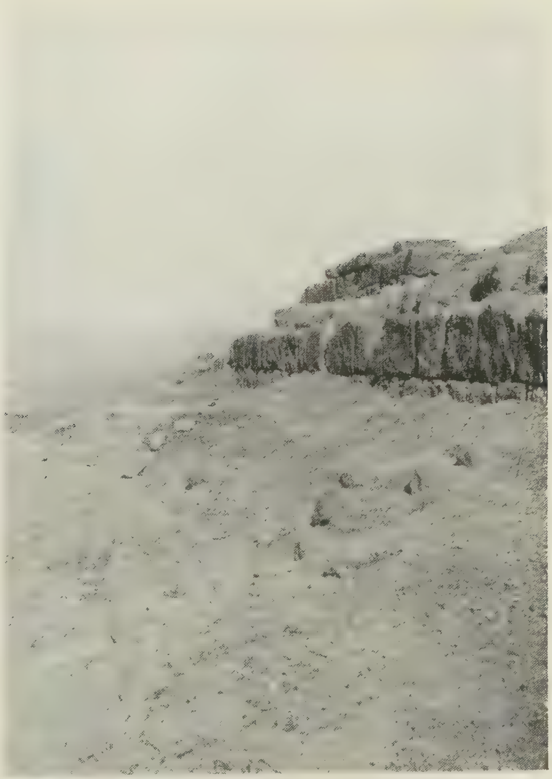


FIG. 1.—WALL OF KHIRBET.
S. SLOPE. W. END FROM E.S.E.

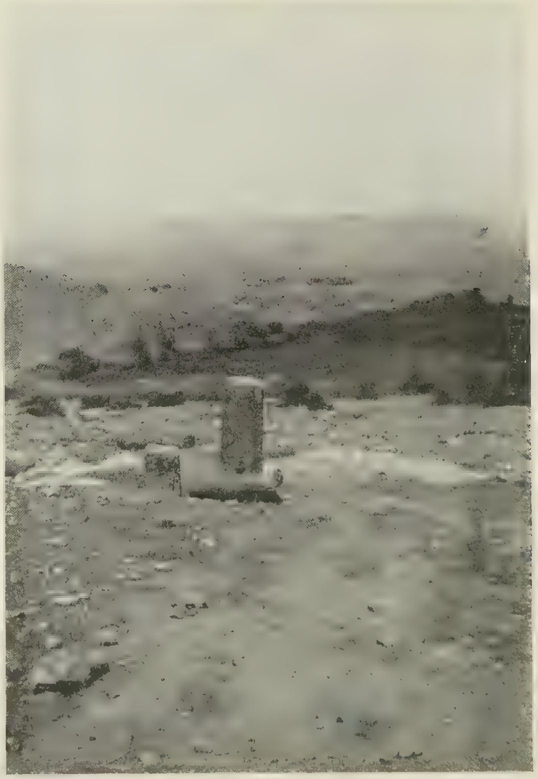


FIG. 2.—GROUP OF COLUMNS.

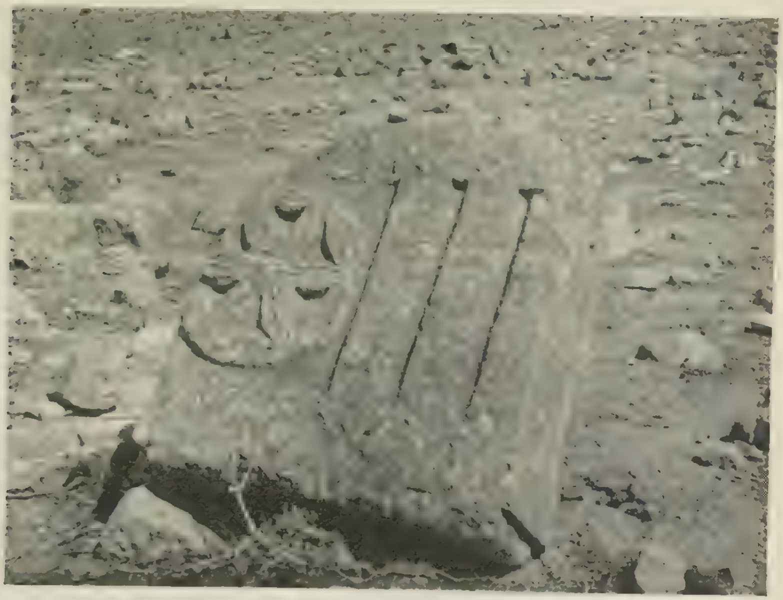


Fig. 1.—Lintel (?) Fragment. S. of Tell el-Husn.

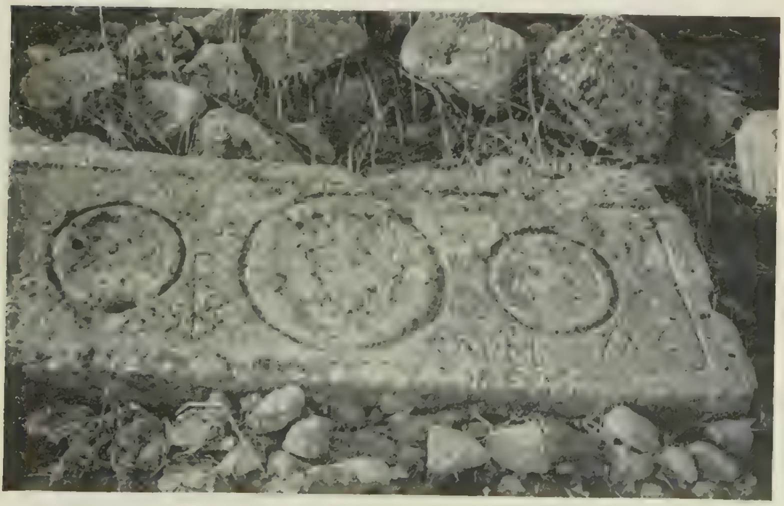


Fig. 2.—Lintel re-used in abandoned mosque. Summit of Khirbet.

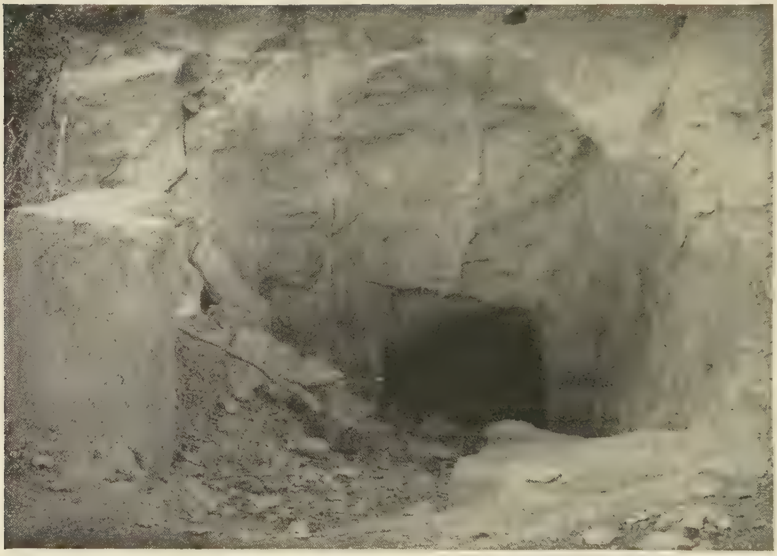


FIG. 1.—SOUTHERN CEMETERY. TOMB V.

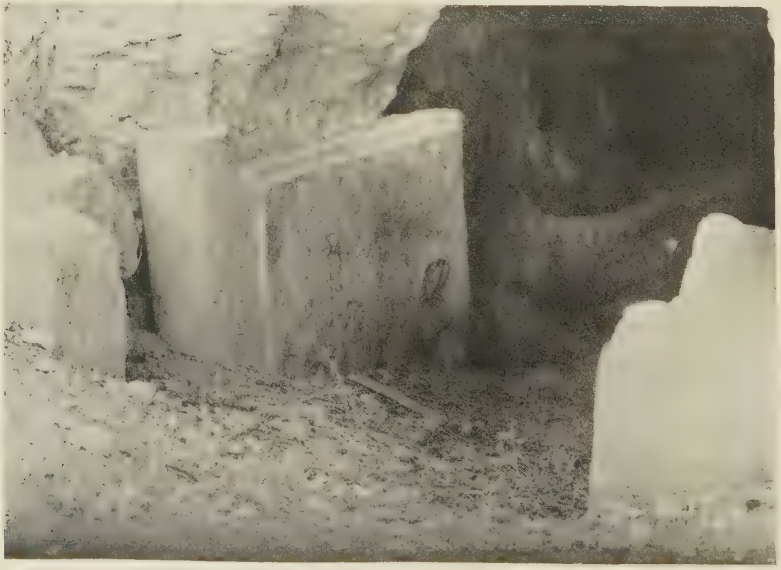
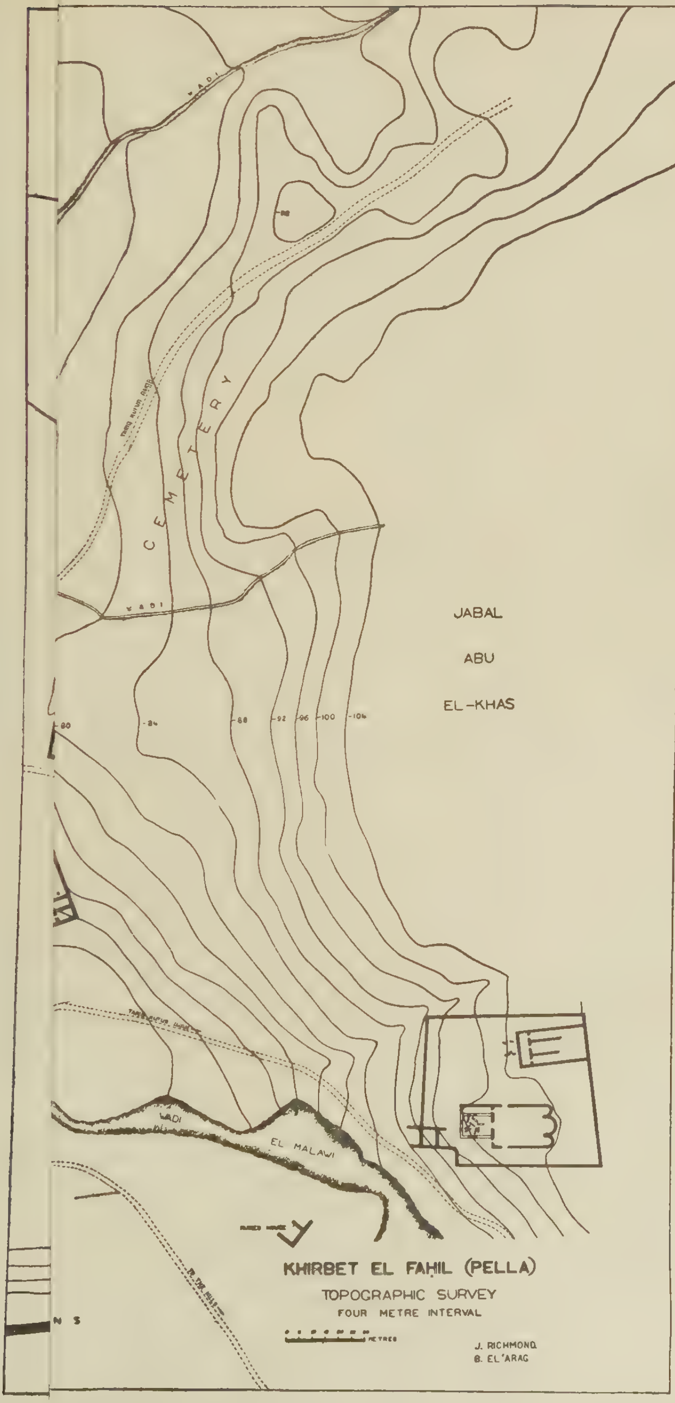


FIG. 2.—SOUTH CEMETERY. TOMB VIII. MOULDED SARCOPHAGUS INSIDE.


WADI
CEMETERY
-88
WADI
JABAL
ABU
EL-KHAS
-80
-84
-88
-92
-96
-100
-104
WADI
EL MALAWI
KHIRBET EL FAHIL (PELLA)
TOPOGRAPHIC SURVEY
FOUR METRE INTERVAL
METRES
J. RICHMOND
B. EL 'ARAG
N S

slip ware. Sherds of the Bronze Age or the Early Iron Age are very scarce. Only two were found which could be as early as this. Both of these were discovered at the bottom of the southern slope of the Khirbet. Dr. Albright had previously found Bronze Age sherds on the south side of the Khirbet, where the stream runs alongside it.

Mr. Hamilton recognises the sherds with scratched decoration as similar to some found at Jerash and dated there from the very end of the Byzantine epoch or the beginning of the Arab occupation. The rest of the Byzantine wares here are of the ribbed or plain varieties with one sherd of a big water jar with decoration in white paint.

Of the Roman sherds there are a few of the " terra sigillata " with a creamy paste and sealing-wax red varnish, but by far the greater number are of a smooth clay very hard baked, of a duller red surface than the " terra sigillata " with rims.

The Arab pottery on the top of the Khirbet, I take to be late Mediæval in date ; it is glazed mostly yellow and green, one sherd has an incised decoration applied to the slip before glazing. In general the Arab pottery is similar to the latest pottery at Athlit. There are also a few fragments of Byzantine or early Arab glass.

The pottery is thickest on Tell el-Husn and on the south slopes of the Khirbet ; it is most scarce in the South Cemetery and in the Khandak. The following table shows the general distribution.

Tell el-Husn—Plentiful, especially W. and S. slopes, Roman and Byzantine.

Khirbet el-Fahil—North slopes—Scarce, Byzantine. South slopes—Plentiful, Roman, Byzantine, two sherds, probably E. I.

Basilica and Necropolis—Plentiful, Byzantine.

South Cemetery—Very scarce, Byzantine and modern Arab.

Jebel Abu el-Khas Cemetery—Byzantine, Roman and a few glass fragments.

Tulul-el-Tabaqat and Khandak—Scarce, Byzantine, Arab, Mediæval, a few glass fragments.

Temple Area and " Monastery "—Byzantine.

JACOB'S BETHEL.

BY G. A. WAINWRIGHT, B.LITT.

In a somewhat indefinite way some Biblical scholars have recognised that Jacob's bethel might have been a meteorite, but they give no indication of the connotation of such an idea. In a series of articles I have recently discussed the worship of a number of sacred meteorites and thunderbolts in Egypt.[1] It has there transpired that such things possess very definite characteristics, a number of which prove to have belonged to Jacob's bethel also. There is thus no doubt as to its nature, for within the general class of sacred stones or *maṣṣēbōth* it fits into a clearly recognisable and well-established sub-section. That is the sacred meteorite, its equivalent the thunderbolt, or their substitute the omphalos.

The meteorite coming from the sky, naturally belongs originally to the sky- and storm-gods, and not to the sun-gods or fertility-gods, though by the end, in classical days, whence so much of our information is drawn, they had often become inextricably merged together. The meteorite falls as a flame of fire, and is usually accompanied by a cloud of smoke and loud detonations. These last are variously described as being like "thunder," "the rolling of artillery," "bellowing of oxen," "rattling sounds, mingled with a clang, and clash and roar," etc., etc.[2] Another flash of light which the "Sky" casts with noise and terrifying effect is the lightning. The resemblance between it and the meteorite is completed by the accompanying cloud, though actually this is a storm-cloud, and not one of smoke. Believing, though wrongfully, as uninstructed man did, and still does, that the stroke of lightning and its splitting rending effect is produced by something solid, it is only recently that the meteorite has been distinguished from the lightning.[3] Hence, the meteorite has long been considered to be the thunderbolt, and with some reason.

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[1] Those not quoted in the text are *Anns. Service Antiqq. de l'Égypte*, xxviii, 175 ff.; *Journal of Egn. Archaeology*, xvi, 35 ff.; xvii, 151 ff.; 185 ff.

[2] O. C. Farrington, *Meteorites* (Chicago, 1915), ch. ii: Id., *Cat. of the Meteorites of North America*, *passim*; or in less detail in G. T. Prior's more easily obtainable *Cat. of Meteorites* (London, 1923), *passim*, and *Guide to the Collection of Meteorites* (London, 1926), p. 11.

[3] For the general statement as to the confusion, see Prior, *Guide*, 10; A. S. E. Ackermann, *Popular Fallacies* (1923), 376, 377. Plenty of examples will be found in *J.E.A.*, xviii, 6 ff., especially S. 10. Conversation with one's friends will probably provide still more.

Like so many other countries, Egypt proves to have had a number of sacred meteorites or thunderbolts. Those that are helpful here are that at Thebes,[1] that in the Cabasite nome of the Delta,[2] and the thunderbolts at Letopolis, near the modern Cairo.[3] Under the belief that it was the thunderbolt the Egyptians considered the meteorite to be a powerful agency for opening that which was closed. The second of the above mentioned three was called "The Breaker."[4] At Letopolis, from at least the third dynasty, *c.* 2900 B.C., onwards, the high priest's title had been "The Opener of the Mouth," and his function was to blast open that man's mouth which had been sealed in death.[5] This he did with pieces of meteorite—that is to say, *bỉꜣ*, iron, the metal provided by meteorites.[6] At Thebes more opening was accomplished. In the first place, an instrument with the head of the sacred ram of the city was, in due time, added to the armoury for opening the mouth of the dead man.[7] Secondly, the title of the high priest was "The Opener of the Gates of Heaven," and the reason for his opening them was "in order to see what is therein," which was "Splendour."[8] His mission clearly was to split open heaven, and to gaze upon the glory of his lord. He would, no doubt, have held communion with him, and could then have interpreted his will to mankind.

As at Thebes, so at Letopolis there were heavenly gates. In an XVIIIth Dynasty copy of the Book of the Dead, the dead man declares, "The gates which are in Letopolis are opened unto me,"[9] after having spoken of the ascent to heaven and the ladder. Elsewhere in the same papyrus he speaks of various celestial doors being opened unto him, and proceeds, "I make a ladder to heaven among the gods."[10] Already in the Old Kingdom, *c.* 2600 B.C., it was stated about the deceased Pharaoh that the gods "construct a ladder for Pepi and he entereth to the sky upon it : the gates of the sky are opened for this Pepi, the gates of the *ŝhdw* are thrown open for him."[1] In Egypt, therefore, long tradition definitely connected the gates of heaven with a ladder which led up to them, and they opened for the beatified elect.

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[1] See an article on Amun to appear shortly in *J.E.A.*

[2] *Journal of Egyptian Archæology*, xix, 49 ff.

[3] *J.E.A.*, xviii, 159 ff.

[4] *J.E.A.*, xix, 49-51. This meteorite was first represented in the Fifth Dynasty, *c.* 2700 B.C.

[5] *J.E.A.*, xviii, 6, 7, etc., 160.

[6] *Op. cit.*, 4 and Pl. ii.

[7] See *J.E.A.*, *Amun.*

[8] *Op. cit.*

[9] Budge, *Facsimiles of Hunefer Pap. and others: Nu*, Pl. xviii, ch. xcviii, l. 10; cf. *J.E.A.*, xviii, 168.

[10] Id., *op. cit.*, Pl. lxii, § xi, l. 11.

The ladder was well established in Egyptian religion. Besides the references just given, others are collected in *J. E. A.*, xviii, 168, and in the XIXth Dynasty Ani gives a drawing of it.[2] In the Old Kingdom there had been both a rope ladder and a rigid one, the latter of which, in due time, absorbed the former. Later, again, by the seventh century B.C., both of them were supplanted by the similar mode of ascent offered by the ever-encroaching Sun-religion of Heliopolis. This was the stairway (*rdw*) which, although known to the Pyramid Texts,[3] was at that time quite unimportant. Originally, the rope ladder had belonged to Letopolis, while the rigid one belonged to Seth, but already, by Pyramid times, *c.* 2500 B.C., the rigid one had been transferred to Letopolis also.[4] The nome of which Letopolis was capital was dedicated to a group of stars, the constellation of the Great Bear.[5] Hence, one of the reasons that the deceased Pharaoh climbed his ladder was "in order that he may sit among the stars of heaven."[6] The ladders, therefore, belonged to the stellar religion, and so are related to the Australian beliefs about shooting stars, which have persisted into modern times. Belonging to the Australians, these ideas would undoubtedly be very primitive, for these people have been isolated from the rest of the world since the Palæolithic Age. On seeing a shooting star, they say that a dead man has climbed in to heaven by a rope which he has thrown away in this form.[7] Returning to Egypt, we find that not only the rope ladder, but the heavenly rope itself, was known there in early times, for the dead Pharaoh also used ropes, "ropes of *bi͗ꜣ*."[1] *Bi͗ꜣ* is the material provided by meteorites, that is to say, iron[2], and, moreover, these ropes also are connected with the stars, and especially with the associates of the Letopolitan ones.[3]. But a shooting star which happens to fall to earth is a meteorite, and is commonly believed to be a thunderbolt. Hence, besides being the city of the rope ladder and the capital of a star-nome, Letopolis was also the Thunderbolt-city, as already stated. The associations of the rigid ladder are similar, for it belonged to Seth, Setesh, or Sutekh, who was the storm-god *par excellence.*[4] At least one of his centres, the Cabasite nome, was dedicated to the meteorite called "The Breaker," and all the world over the lightning or thunderbolt is the storm-god's weapon. Thus, of the two primitive ladders, the one belonged to Letopolis, the Thunderbolt capital of the Star-nome, and was related to the stellar ropes, while the other belonged to Seth, the storm-god and patron of one of the meteorite-nomes. Egypt's ladders are, therefore, intimately related to meteorites which, in primitive belief, are thunderbolts.

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[1] Sethe, *Die Pyramidentexte*, § 1474 and cf. *J.E.A.*, xviii, 168. The *ŝhdw* was a part of the sky.

[2] *Facsimile of the Pap. of Ani* (pub. by the Trustees of the Brit. Mus.), Pl. xxii.

[3] Sethe, *op. cit.*, § 1090, but later it seems to have absorbed a number of ideas ; Petrie, *Amulets*, Pl. iv, 46 and p. 17 ; Schäfer in *Zeits. für aeg. Sprache*, xliii, 68 ; *Guide to the Third and Fourth Egn. Rooms* (Brit. Mus.), p. 224, Nos. 609-614.

[4] *J.E.A.*, xviii, p. 168.

[5] *Op. cit.*, p. 163.

[6] *Pyr.*, § 1253.

[7] Palmer, in *Journ. Anthrop. Inst.*, 1884, p. 292.

It will be evident that here in Egypt are phenomena identical with those with which Jacob's bethel has familiarised us. His stone opened the heavens to him, as did the Theban meteorite for its high priest, and like the latter, he saw the Splendour that was therein ; in his case, even God himself. A ladder was set up from earth to heaven like the meteorite or thunderbolt ones of Egypt, and on it the heavenly beings passed on their way, as had the divinised Pharaohs of old. On awaking, Jacob exclaimed, ". . . . . and this is the gate of heaven." In so doing he used words identical with those used in connection with the ancient Pharaoh's ladder, or with those used at Thebes about the high priest of the meteorite there. No doubt Jacob's "gate of heaven" was the Palestinian equivalent not only of the gates of the meteorite-city Thebes, but also of "the gates which are in Letopolis," the city of the ladder and of meteoric or thunderbolt associations. The Egyptian phenomena all cluster round sacred meteorites or thunderbolts. Therefore, the deduction is natural that Jacob's bethel was not merely a sacred stone of any sort, but was definitely a meteorite, or a thunderbolt, or an omphalos which, for some reason unknown, was a substitute for them.[1]

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[1] *Pyr.*, §§ 138, 139.
[2] *J.E.A.*, xviii, p. 7.
[3] *Op. cit.*, p. 168.
[4] *Ibid.*

The ladder seems to appear elsewhere in relationship with the celestial powers. This is in Neo-Babylonian art, which quite commonly shows worship being paid to sacred objects of a rounded, irregular shape such as Fig. 1. They were generally dedicated to Sin and Ishtar, but also to Hadad,[2] who were personifications of the moon, the planet Venus, and the storm respectively. Can these objects represent sacred meteorites, with their heavenly ladder ?

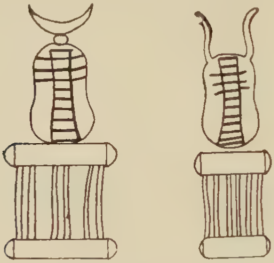

Fig. 1. Neo-Babylonian meteorites and ladders ?

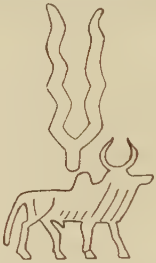

Fig. 2. Babylonia c. 2100 b.c.

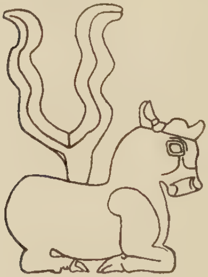

Fig. 3. Babylonia XIIth cent. b.c.

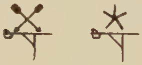

Fig. 4. Insignia at Sebennytus.

The later history of religion at Bethel leads further along the same road, for this was one of the two places at which Jeroboam instituted the worship of the Golden Calves (1 Kings xii, 28 ff.). The association of the full-grown bull with lightning, meteorites, and storm-gods was both ancient and widespread in the Near East,[1] Fig. 2. The bull is sometimes represented as quite young, with horns only just beginning to sprout. Fig. 3 is from Babylonia, and belongs to the reign of Nebuchadnezzar I, 1146-1122 B.C.[2] A splendid bronze of classical date from Baalbek in Syria shows Zeus Adados (Hadad the storm-god) standing between two young bulls with horns of similar immaturity.[3] It is easy to understand the association of the storm-gods with the bull, either in his full vigour or just entering thereon. But, strange though it may seem, the young calf also belonged to them. One of the Egyptian nomes, Sebennytus, worshipped a war-like sky-god, whose sister-wife, Tefênet, spat fire and flame.[4] The insignia of the high priest, which, however, is only known from Græco-Roman days, shows him to have served a god of the meteorite group. He bore either a star or the crossed arrows, Fig. 4. The interchange of itself suggests that we have to do with shooting stars. This supposition is confirmed by the further fact that the crossed arrows were also carried by his colleague at Letopolis, the thunderbolt-city of the heavenly ladder and gates.[5]

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[1] See pp. 41-44 of the present article.

[2] *E.g.*, Delaporte, *Cat. cyl. orientaux* (*Bibl. nat.*), Pl. xxvi, 386, from which our Fig. 1 is drawn ; Id., *Cat. cyl. orientaux* (*Louvre*), ii, Pls. xcii, 35 ; cxx, 1A, 4A, B, 5A, cxxi, 2A, B ; see also W. Hayes Ward, *Seal Cylinders of Western Asia*, Figs. 544 ff.

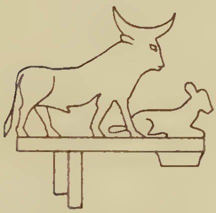

FIG. 5. STANDARD OF SEBENNYTUS.

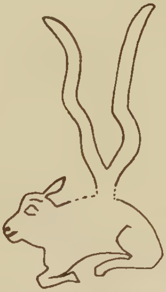

FIG. 6. BABYLONIA XIITH CENT. B.C.

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[1] *J.E.A.*, xix, pp. 42-45. Fig. 2 is from Roscher, *Lex.*, s.v. *Ramman*, col. 27, Fig. 2; a cylinder of Hammurabi's time, *c.* 2100 B.C.

[2] L. W. King, *Babylonian Boundary Stones, Etc.*, Pl. xci, and p. 31, No. 16.

[3] Dussaud in *Syria*, i, pp. 3 ff., with plates. For other, but damaged, figures, see A. B. Cook, *Zeus*, i, Figs. 435-7, 441, and Pl. xxxiii.

[4] *J.E.A.*, xix, p. 47.

[5] *J.E.A.*, xviii, pp. 160, 162.

Sebennytus was the nome which displayed on its standard not only the full-grown bull but the little hornless calf as well. These associations are ancient, for they go back to the Fifth Dynasty at least, *c.* 2700 B.C.[1], Fig. 5. On Babylonian sculptures the hornless calf is often shown supporting the lightning flashes from the XIVth century B.C. onwards[2], Fig. 6. The VIIth century "seal of the god Adad" shows the god with the hornless calf, who appears yet again on another seal of Assyrian date.[3] Hence, a Golden Calf would be a very proper idol for a city which had the meteoric or fulminous associations already pointed out for Bethel.

There is quite another line of evidence which may be followed to the same result. Unfortunately, the question has been greatly obscured by the way in which, when treating of his stone, scholars have given numerous references to passages which, on checking, prove to refer to any stone that was in any way sacred. But this is not the usage of the Old Testament. Here the word *bethel* is applied only to Jacob's stone.[4] Therefore, his stone, though a *maṣṣēbah* (Gen. xxviii, 18, 22, etc.), like any other sacred stone, was also something unique. Further, the Hebrew word *bethel* is generally accepted as the original of the Greek βαίτυλος and the Latin baetylus.[5] This introduces the classical evidence, which shows that as it was with the *bethel* of Canaan, so it was also with the *baetyl* of the Greeks and Romans.[6] Here, again, the question has been complicated by the modern indiscriminate use of the word as a generic term for sacred stones in general, and almost any study of the subject gives reference to a variety of stones which were merely sacred. Like the Hebrew *bethel*, its derivative βαίτυλος seems to be a very rare word, and only used of a meteorite, or at least in connection with the sky. Thus, Hesychius explains βαιτυλος as "thus used to be called the stone which was given to Cronus instead of Zeus . . . ."[1] This baetyl, being cast out by Cronus, fell to earth at Delphi[2], and, as stones which fall from the sky are meteorites, it must have been one also. Representing Zeus, the sky- or storm-god, it would have been another Zeus, Kappotas, "Zeus fallen down," such as was revered at Gythion.[3] The Delphian baetyl was given by Rhea, whose Asianic counterpart was the Mother of the Gods. This goddess was much connected with meteorites, for she had one as her sacred object at Pessinus.[4] and it was she to whom Pindar dedicated the one he saw fall.[5] Cronus will be found several times in these pages as being related to baetyls. He seems to have been an old sky-god.[6] Again, at Emesa, in Syria, there had been a sacred meteorite of which Photius has preserved an account. Its priest, a certain Eusebius, is reported as saying that "Suddenly he saw a ball of fire running down from above . . . . and Eusebius himself ran up to the ball, for the fire was already extinguished, and he perceived that it was the baetyl, and he took it up and asked it to what god it belonged. And it answered that it belonged to the Highborn . . . ."[7] Stones that fall from the skies as balls of fire are meteorites, and in several respects the account is a good one of such an event. The "Highborn" to whom the baetyl-meteorite claimed to belong was the old storm-god Hadad, transformed into Zeus Adados, and finally Jupiter Heliopolitanus, of Baalbek, not very far from Emesa.[8] Pliny also has an illuminating passage on baetyls. He is discussing *ceraunia*e, that is to say, thunderstones. He begins by describing one variety "which absorbs the brilliance of the stars," and "has within it a shining star." Here the confusion is complete between the thunderbolt and the meteorite, or falling star. He then goes on to discuss two other kinds of *cerauniae*, one black and the other red, adding that they resemble axes in shape. The axe was a well-known symbol of the storm-god, and all over the world to-day stone axes are still said to be thunderbolts.[1] He then continues, "Those that are black and round are sacred; cities may be taken by storm with them, and fleets; they are called *baetyli*; but those which are long, *cerauniae*."[2] Here the baetyls are classified with thunderbolts in general, with those which bear their astral origin on them, and the storm-god's axes. But the description of the baetyls as "black and round" is better still, for it is the description of meteorites. They are invariably pitch black, if stone ones, and rusty black if iron, as may be seen at the Natural History Museum, South Kensington. Those that did not explode into fragments on arrival are of rounded contours. The explosive nature of meteorites was one of the reasons why they were confused with thunderbolts, and, as shown on p. 33, this property had long been put to use in Egypt for blasting open that which was sealed up. It was no doubt the same reason which caused Pliny to say of his *baetyli* that "cities may be taken by storm with them," though why he should add "fleets" is not so evident. Pliny, therefore, states clearly the deduction that is to be drawn from the foregoing evidence: that a baetyl is a sacred meteorite.

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[1] *E.g.*, Paget and Pirie, *The Tomb of Ptah-hetep* (in Quibell, *The Ramesseum*) Pl. xxxiv, top left-hand corner from which Fig. 5 is drawn.

[2] *J.E.A.*, xix, pp. 45, 46. Fig. 6 is drawn from King, *op. cit.*, Pl. xli = p. 24, No. 12. It dates to Marduk-aplu-iddina I, 1187-1174 B.C.

[3] *J.E.A.*, xix, p. 46.

[4] Gen. xxviii, 22, shows Bethel to have been the name of the stone itself, and not merely of the place.

[5] *E.g.*, H. Lewy, *Die semit. Fremdwörter im Griechischen*, p. 255; Muss-Arnolt in *Trans. Am. Philological Assn.*, 1892 (*On Semitic Words in Greek and Latin*), pp. 51, 52, where he gives references to others; Lenormant in Daremberg and Saglio, *Dict.*, s.v. *Baetylia*, p. 643; B. Stade, *Gesch. des Volkes Israel* (1887), i, p. 456; E. Meyer in Roscher, *Lexikon*, s.v. *El*, col. 1224.

[6] I hope shortly to take up the question of the baetyls in the *Journal of Hellenic Studies*.

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[1] Hesychius, *Lexikon*, s.v.; and *Baetyls* in *J.H.S.*

[2] Hesiod, *Theogony*, ll. 497-500; Pausanias, *Graec. Descr.*, x, 24, 6.

[3] Pausanias, *op. cit.*, iii, 22, 1. For the meaning of the epithet see Pauly-Wissowa, *Real-Encyclopädie*, *Kappotas*, col. **1918.**

[4] *Scholia Vet. in Pindari Carm.* (Teubner ii, p. 80), *Pyth*, iii, 137B.

[5] Herodianus (Teubner), i, 11, § 1; Ammianus Marcellinus (Teubner), xxii, 9, §§ 5, 6; Arnobius *Adversus Gentes* (Migne), vii, c. xlvi (xlix).

[6] A. B. Cook, *Zeus*, ii, 554-8, 601.

[7] I. Bekker, *Photii Bibliotheca* (Berlin, 1824), p. 348. For its explanation of βαιτυλος the *Etymologicon Magnum* (edn. T. Gaisford, 1848), p. 193, refers to this one as well as to that at Delphi. See also *Baetyls* in *J.H.S.*

[8] As Photius goes on to explain, "the people of Heliopolis worship the Highborn, having set up a figure of a lion in the temple of Zeus." For Zeus Adados at Baalbek, see A. B. Cook, *Zeus*, i, pp. 550, 551.

The Phœnician mythographer, Sanchoniatho, also intimately associates the baetyls with the sky-gods. In one passage he says Baetylus was the son of one and the brother of another, thus: "And Uranus having succeeded to his father's rule, takes to himself in marriage his sister Ge, and gets by her four sons, Elus, who is also Cronus, and Baetylus, and Dagon, who is Siton, and Atlas."[3] A little further on he considers the baetyls as having been created by the sky-god, for he says that "The god Uranus devised *baetylia* having contrived to put life into stones."[4]

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[1] *J.E.A.*, xvii, pp. 192, 193; xix, p. 43; *Baetyls* in *J.H.S.*

[2] Pliny, *N.H.*, xxxvii, 51.

[3] Eusebius, *Praep. Evang.*, i, x, 16.

[4] Id., *op. cit.* i, x, 23.

The title "Zeus Betylos, [god] of the dwellers along the Orontes"[1] identifies the baetyl with the Greek sky- and storm-god.

Of course, by classical and even Christian times, whence these accounts come, the record has been somewhat blurred by syncretisation. Sun-worship and vegetation-worship had been encroaching for ages, and by the end had almost obscured the nature of some of the sky-gods. Thus, in rounding off his description of the meteorite at Emesa, Photius reports: "And some of the baetyls, as he blasphemously says, are dedicated to one god, others to another—to Cronus, Zeus, Helios, and the others."[2] Another writer records of the more famous omphalos-god of this city "whom some say to be the Sun and others Jupiter,"[3] in spite of the fact that the object has an eagle—the bird of Zeus—perched on, or before, it.[4] Yet another merely says of the omphalos that it is considered to be "an unwrought image of the Sun."[5] Hence, its name was solarised from the good Semitic Elagabalus (*Elah-gabal*, "The god 'Mountain'," *i.e.*, the storm-god) into the meaningless Heliogabalus. In the same way, its neighbour of Baalbek Hadad, the old storm-god, had become Jupiter Heliopolitanus and his city Heliopolis.[6] Similarly, in Sanchoniatho's passage, just quoted, "Dagon, who is Siton," *i.e.*, the Corn-god, finds a place. The sky-gods Uranus, Cronus and Zeus, however, still take precedence among the gods to whom the baetyls belong.

Thus, the evidence of the baetyls of the classical world is in full accord with that culled for bethel from Oriental sources. It shows that the baetyls were meteorites, and clinches the argument that Jacob's bethel must have been one, too.

It may be, however, that it was not the actual meteorite itself, but an omphalos, for omphaloi were manufactured as substitutes for original meteorites and thunderbolts. While Amun's sacred object at Thebes was clearly a meteorite, it was replaced by omphaloi at his subsidiary shrines of Napata in Nubia and Siwah (Ammonium) in the Libyan desert. From Napata we have the object itself (Fig. 7) carved in sandstone, and for that at Siwah we have Curtius' description (iv, 31), "That which is worshipped as a god has not the shape that artificers have usually applied to the gods; its appearance is most like an umbilicus, and it is made of *zmaragdus* (beryl or emerald) and gems cemented together." Its material is significant, for Damigeron, in the second century A.D., states that "Ceraunius (the thunderstone) is the stone which the Egyptians call 'smaragdus'."[1] Under the title of Kamutef (Bull of his Mother), Amun shared his meteorite with two other gods. Of these the one, Min, had his thunderbolt,[2] while the other, Horus, had an omphalos at Hierakonopolis, one of his chief sanctuaries.[3] Artemis' sacred object at Ephesus we know "fell down from Jupiter" (Acts xix, 35), and was, therefore, a meteorite. But at each of her other shrines of Perga, Pogla and Andeda, the sacred object was an omphalos.[4] At Seleucia Pieria, near Antioch, the sacred object took the form

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[1] Baur, Rostovtzeff and Bellinger, *The Excavations at Dura-Europos, Fourth Season*, p. 68.

[2] I. Bekker, *loc. cit.*

[3] Aelii Lampridii, *Antoninus Heliogabalus*, ch. xvii, § 8 (Teubner's edn., *Script. Hist. Aug.*, i, p. 233).

[4] Wroth, *Cat. Greek Coins: Galatia, Cappadocia and Syria*, Pl. xxvii, 7, 8, 9, 12, and others are mentioned on pp. 237-240. Compare the omphalos of Delphi which had an eagle each side of it. Cook, *Zeus* ii, Figs. 123 ff.

[5] Herodianus (Teubner), v, 3, § 5.

[6] See p. 39 and note 8.

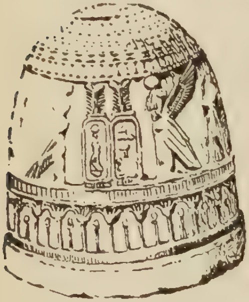

FIG. 7. OMPHALOS AT NAPATA.

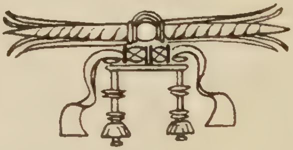

FIG. 8.

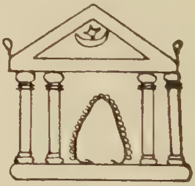

FIG. 9.

SELEUCIA PIERIA.

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[1] Damigeron, *De Lapidibus*, xii, pub. in E. Abel, *Orphei Lithica*, p. 173. For his date, see Pauly-Wissowa, *Real-Encyclopädie*, s.v.

[2] *J.E.A.*, xvii, pp. 185 ff.

[3] *Op. cit.*, p. 190, Figs. 5, 6.

[4] G. F. Hill *Cat. Greek Coins: Lycia, Pamphylia, Pisidia*, PERGA, Pl. xxiv, Figs. 5, 12, 15, 16 and others are mentioned on pp. 122 ff.; ANDEDA, Pl. xxx, Fig. 11=p. 175; POGLA, Pl. xxxvii, Figs. 7, 8=pp. 236, 237.

of either a thunderbolt or an omphalos,[1] Figs. 8, 9. At Tyre, where Astarte dedicated the "star fallen from the sky (ἀεροπετῆ ἀστέρα)"[2] there were also two "stelæ."[3] They were presumably ancient, for their dedication was ascribed to Usöus.[4] This name is taken to represent, and no doubt rightly, the Uzu by which Old Tyre is called in the Tell el-Amarnah letters of the XIVth century B.C.[5] Uzu in its turn appears to be the still older *Ỉwꜣṯi* of the XIth Dynasty geographical list of about 2000 B.C.[6] What must be these stelæ are shown in classical times either as omphaloi of the usual shape,[7] Fig. 10, or else as tall domed objects,[8] Fig. 11, like that at the labrys-city of Knossos[9] and those of Artemis just mentioned at Perga, Pogla and Andeda. Further, one of them resembled another omphalos, that of Amun at Ammonium, in its material. This was *smaragdus*,[10] which represented the thunderbolt, as has been seen. The Tyrian omphaloi recall Ammonium in two other points. These are that they are called "Rocks" (πέτραι)[11] and that one of them was sacred to the Wind.[12] At Ammonium

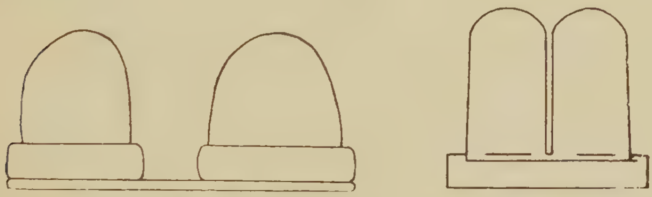

FIG. 10. FIG. 11.

OMPHALOI OR STELAE AT TYRE.

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[1] *J.E.A.*, xvii, p. 188.

[2] Eusebius, *Praep. Evang.* i, x. 31. Before finding this meteorite, she had "set the head of a bull (ταύρου) upon her own head."

[3] Herodotus, ii, 44.

[4] Eusebius, *op. cit.*, i, x, 10.

[5] J. A. Knudtzon, *Die el-Amarna-Tafeln* II, p. 1247, note.

[6] Sethe, in *Abhandl. preuss. Ak. Wiss.*, Phil.-hist. Klasse, Berlin, 1926, No. 5, p. 56, f, 3. For the date see p. 18.

[7] G. F. Hill, *Cat. of the Greek Coins of Phoenicia*, Pl. xxxiii, 15.

[8] Id., *op. cit.*, Pl. xxxiii, 13, 14.

[9] Evans, *The Palace of Minos*, ii, Fig. 555.

[10] Hdts,, ii, 44, and see *J.E.A.*, Amun, for a discussion of its probable astral significance.

[11] Hill, *op. cit.*, Pl. xxxiii, 14, 15 ? = p. 281.

[12] Eusebius, *op. cit.*, i, x, 10.

also there was "a certain rock (rupes) sacred to the South Wind."[1] Hence, at Tyre omphalos and meteorite are found together once more. At Delphi, where was the baetyl which fell from Cronus, there was the much more famous omphalos, which was sacred to Apollo, god of the celestial phenomenon light. At Emesa not only was there the celebrated divine stone, Elagabalus, which was an omphalos in shape,[2] but also the obscure baetyl discussed above, which was a meteorite.

The conclusions to be drawn from the foregoing are as follows. Jacob's bethel was not a mere *maṣṣēbah*, a sacred stone, but was unique within that general class. It had the same effects on the faithful as had some Egyptian sacred meteorites. These are that it opened the "gate of heaven" to him; it showed him the Splendour that was therein; it provided a ladder from earth to heaven. As would have been suitable for a meteorite-city, the Golden Calf was in due time set up there. In the Near East the calf was a well-known emblem of the sky-gods and the lightning, from which latter the meteorite was not distinguished. Bethel is accepted as the origin of the classical word βαίτυλος, and this, in its turn, is applied to very evident meteorites. Thus, there can be no reasonable doubt that Jacob's bethel was a sacred meteorite, or an omphalos its substitute.

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[1] Pomponius Mela i, 8.

[2] Wroth, *Cat. Greek Coins: Galatia, Cappadocia, and Syria*, Pls. xxvii, xxviii. Cf. Herodianus, v, 3, 5, where the description tallies with the pictures, "a certain very great stone, circular below, leaving off in a point. Its shape (is) conical."

BIḴ‘AH—“ VALLEY ” OR “ PLAIN ” ?

In Gen. xi, 2 ; Ezek. iii, 22*f*, the A.V. renders Biḵ‘ah by “ plain,” but elsewhere the rendering of A.V. is by “ Valley”—V. of Jericho (Deut. xxxiv, 3) ; V. of Lebanon (Josh. xi, 17) ; V. of Megiddo (2 Chr. xxxv, 22 ; *cf*. Zech. xii, 11) ; also the Valley (Ezek. xxxvii, 1, 2). On the Hebrew word Sir G. A. Smith writes :

“ While ‘Emeq means *deepening*, . . . Biq‘ah means *opening*. From its origin—a verb *to split*—one would naturally take it to be a valley more narrow than ‘Emeq, a cleft or gorge. But it is applied to broad vales like that of Jordan under Hermon or at Jericho. . . . A surrounding of hills seems necessary to the name Biq‘ah, as if it were to be translated, land *laid open* or *lying open*, in the midst of hills.” (*Hist. Geography of the Holy Land*, page 385).

But there is, I think, a better explanation of the meaning of Biḵ‘ah and one that explains why the term is used of broad vales or plains. The verb Biḵ-ḵa‘, “ split ” or “ cleave,” is used of Jehovah’s work in cleaving the rock in the Wilderness to bring forth water (Ps. lxxviii, 15) and also of his power in general of making springs and even great rivers where He will (Hab. iii, 9, “ Thou didst cleave the earth with rivers,” *Nĕhārōth*, *great* rivers*). The substantive Biḵ‘ah may therefore be understood *not* as a *cleft* between mountains, but as a plain *cleft* by a river. So the Biḵ‘ah of Jericho is cleft by the Jordan, the Biḵ‘ah of Lebanon by the Litani, the Bik‘ah of Megiddo by the Kishon, and the Bik‘ah in the land of Shīn‘ar by the Euphrates and its canals. Biḵ‘ah is a Cloven Land, divided by some swift stream or great river of ancient name. “ *The* Bik‘ah ” of Ezek. iii, 22 and of Ezek xxxvii, 1, 2 (the Valley of Dry Bones) is the great Euphratean Plain over which Israel was scattered in despairing captivity.

W. Emery Barnes.

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* This verse is not to be expunged on “ metrical grounds.”

REVIEWS AND NOTICES.

Myth and Ritual. Essays edited by Prof. S. H. Hooke, with a foreword by D. C. Simpson, D.D. Twenty illustrations. Oxford University Press. 1933.

This interesting and highly original little book consists of a series of chapters by well-known scholars, on—to quote the subtitle—"the Myth and Ritual of the Hebrews in relation to the Culture Pattern of the Ancient East." To some, perhaps, this explanatory title will seem to stand in need of further explanation. It may, therefore, be helpful to observe that though we have long been accustomed to the *comparative* study of the various civilisations of the Ancient East, and have often had our attention drawn to the many noteworthy parallels, resemblances or analogies which subsist between them, it is often felt that this procedure is too haphazard, too miscellaneous. It is as though we were bidden to observe the real or apparent resemblance between this or the other collection of bones gathered from widely different parts of some area. But just as, on closer study, we find that some of the bones, at least, can be articulated, and that we have to deal, not with bones, but with skeletons, some more and some less complete, so the "comparative anatomy" of myth and ritual now goes further, and seeks to determine whether, instead of isolated beliefs and customs, we have not rather something of the nature of skeletons—whole "patterns," which we can piece together and reconstruct, much as the anatomist can reconstruct a skeleton, and even from the peculiar nature of some bone or other estimate the way in which the skeleton to which it belonged must have deviated from the common type.

So, in this book, the Samuel Davidson Professor of Old Testament Studies in the University of London, and his skilled collaborators, survey the evidence from Babylonia, Egypt and the Old Testament, and argue to the conclusion that behind it can be traced a "culture pattern" relating to the significance of the kingship for the practical religious beliefs and customs of the people. Of the eight essays, six were delivered at Oxford, seven at London, and we understand that they aroused no little interest: certainly the themes of the lectures were calculated to provoke intelligent curiosity, both for their novelty and for the clever way in which they were set forth.

Professor Hooke starts off with an introductory account of "the Myth and Ritual Pattern of the Ancient East," pointing out the central position occupied by the king. The Egyptian evidence is then handled by Dr. Aylward Blackman, who, after a survey of the Osiris myths and the nature of the kingship, concludes that there are certain modifications which prove that the "pattern" was not of native Egyptian origin, but had been imported thither. His chapter gives interesting information on the Pharaoh as the representative of the god, and the belief in the divine conception and birth of the heir to the throne.

The third essay, by Mr. Gadd, of the British Museum, is in many respects the most important of all, since in Babylonia the evidence for the kingship-pattern is the most complete. Mr. Gadd is able to give an account of the pattern in its relationship to other myths and rituals, and thus we gain a more proportionate estimate of Babylonian myths and ritual in general, and avoid the danger of unduly concentrating upon one "pattern," and ignoring the evidence for other "patterns." The New Year Festivals, the waxing and waning of the year-god, and the fundamental importance of magical, or, rather, magico-religious beliefs, are clearly explained. The Editor then discusses the traces of the myth and ritual pattern in Canaan. The material is admittedly scanty, and is partly derived from the excavations; by far the most important and interesting section of this essay is his account of the new material from the tablets found at Ras Shamra in North Syria. These tablets are the most sensational discovery since the "Amarna Tablets," and every few months the progress of the interpretation of their not too easy contents throws fresh light upon the beliefs of these more or less Phœnician, Canaanite or Hebraic people of round about 1300 B.C.

In the fifth essay, the Rev. Dr. Hollis, of King's College, London, discusses the sun-cult and the Temple at Jerusalem. The sun-cult does not seem to have been finally eradicated from the Judaean worship of Yahweh before the Exile, and a careful study of the architectural nature of the Temple brings many interesting results. He concludes, "from the evidence which has been adduced, is it too much to claim that solar myth and ritual were to the front in Solomon's Temple?" No one who has considered the evidence of the Amarna Tablets for the sort of religion that prevailed in Pre-Israelite Palestine would doubt that the Sun-god was so prominent, and the Pre-Israelite importance of Jerusalem so unmistakable, that some retention of the earlier religion is only to be expected.

Professor Oesterley next describes early Hebrew festival rituals. These were vital, because upon them depended, according to ancient belief, the means of subsistence. The invading Israelites naturally learned agriculture from the native Pre-Israelite population, and agricultural festivals, ideas, and the rest, were speedily adopted by them. He gives further evidence for traces of earlier solar and other cults ; and since Yahweh was to early Israel what Osiris was to the Egyptians and Marduk to the Babylonians, it is only to be expected that significant parallels can be found. Underlying all the ritual behind the "pattern," with all its modifications, lay certain common underlying conceptions : men did not speculate theoretically, they had to live ; religion was, therefore, *practical*—the practical, effective relations between men, their representatives (king or priest), and the unseen powers. "Behind and beneath all was the insistent urge to answer the questions : Why does the vegetation die ; how can it be revivified ?"

In the seventh essay, Dr. E. O. James discusses Initiatory Rituals, illustrating Hebrew practices and ideas of circumcision from other peoples. If, as he suggests, the original conception was that of deification or union with a god, the rite would readily become a covenant sign when once the idea of the divine kingship was abandoned in favour of the notion of a holy nation consecrated to Yahweh. Similarly, when a hierocracy was substituted for the monarchy after the Exile, another sort of transition can be discerned, as the high priest assumed, though in a modified form, the attributes of the divine king. The death and resurrection ceremonial connected with the divine kingship also, in turn, was refined, and ideas of initiation and rebirth were lifted from a physical to a spiritual plane.

Finally, the Rev. Prof. T. H. Robinson discusses Hebrew myths pointing out that Israel had a double ancestry : the native agricultural population and the nomadic element. The influence of the latter will go back to early times, and the modification due to them was a continuous process. He observes that there is not the slightest trace of any deification of David, for example, and it is only with caution that we can reconstruct the religion of pre-Exilic Palestine. He lays emphasis upon the lunar nature of the Passover festival, which was brought in by the Israelites ; and in a concluding page reminds us of the persistence and retention of ancient myths in the New Testament Apocalypse.

We have devoted space to this book because of its extremely original character. The essays are not by scholars who have the reputation of being " radical " or " extreme " ; they are independent workers who have found how naturally and inevitably many of their conclusions converge. They would be the first to agree that the speculative element enters into their enquiries ; but the reader will understand that the study of ancient myth and ritual unavoidably raises new and exceedingly interesting questions which demand *some* answer. The method adopted has its dangers—of this the essayists are very well aware, and one may sometimes feel that the pattern-key is being too rigorously applied.[1] But the general trend of present-day research is along the paths they tread, and it would be difficult to name a more stimulating book, or one to be taken into account more seriously by the student of the Bible.

As is pointed out by Canon Simpson in a judicious preface, all one-sided study of the Old Testament is to be avoided. There are " Fundamentalists " who attempt to save too much, and " Higher Critics " who are tempted to abandon too much. Some scholars concentrate too much on the Prophets, and disparage the part played by the priests of old, and others fail to see the spirit lying beneath myth and ritual with which they have little sympathy. Moreover, there are divergent schools of anthropological research, some taking an " evolutionary " view, while others (calling themselves " historical ") are more influenced by the conviction that similarities of culture are due, in the main, if not wholly, to the " diffusion " of customs and institutions.

Accordingly, this volume of essays has much that is attractive for those who are interested in the progress of Biblical Studies, and although for the present the enquiry is concerned with the Old Testament, its significance for the New Testament does not escape notice. Dr. Simpson's Foreword, and, indeed, the whole tendency of the essayists, is to warn us that Biblical study is not stagnant. This must be borne in mind. The evidence of excavation and the monuments is placing things in an entirely new light; and although Professor Burkitt, at the Annual General Meeting of the British School of Archæology in Jerusalem (*Q.S.*, p. 189), referred to "the decay of interest of people at large in the Bible and Biblical studies," it is easy to see that, even if we leave entirely on one side the thorny question of the so-called "Higher Criticism," this material is gradually providing some extraordinarily novel conceptions of the history and religion of the ancient Near East, and, in particular, of the actual stages before Israel's spiritual and ethical monotheism was firmly established.

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[1] I recall the " Pan-Babylonian " and " Astral " theories of a generation ago, see my essays in *Cambridge Biblical Essays* (ed. Swete), p. 72, and *The People and the Book* (ed. Peake), p. 59 f.

Indeed, it is really remarkable how much of the Hebrew religion was of native, rather than of nomadic, Israelite origin—even the idea of "righteousness," which was to play so vital a part in the history of religion and morality, was non-Israelite and pre-Israelite. Moreover, the Amarna Tablets prove the existence (about 1400 B.C.) of a well-developed religious phraseology before the entrance of the Israelites, and there is much in the religious environment of Jerusalem which cannot be ascribed to the influence of Israelite nomads from the desert.

In a word, the progress of research in archæology and the monuments, is so modifying and correcting our older ideas of Israel, the Hebrews and the land of Palestine that, in the interests of truth, this work must be pursued more thoroughly than ever, to the end that we gain a less incomplete and imperfect knowledge of the rock from which we have been hewn. For my own part, the work of excavation has made me adopt a position, as regards the Old Testament, that may seem increasingly novel; but all of us who are students of the Bible are at one in the store we set upon the "external" evidence and upon such investigations as the one in *Myth and Ritual*.

S. A. Cook.

The Progress of Man, A Short Survey of his Evolution, his Customs and his Works. By A. M. Hocart, late Archæological Commissioner, Ceylon. Methuen. 316 pp.

"These are ancient things," said the Chronicler. But there are even more ancient things than pots and potters ; and Old Testament scholars who have so long maintained a splendid isolation, like the Jebusites within their impregnable walls, are beginning to realize the fact that anthropology has become indispensable to them for the better understanding of their own field.

As a guide to the mazes of that Protean science Mr. Hocart has the unusual qualification of being both an archæologist and an anthropologist, having laboured with distinction in both fields. He has produced a book which will be of special value to the student of the Old Testament in that it will enable him to set the Hebrews in their proper perspective in the vast panorama of human progress.

Mr. Hocart's book, if one can compare small things with great, is like one of those precious little maps of London's arteries, the Tubes, with which the wise traveller underground always provides himself. It offers a masterly bird's eye view of the many intricately interconnected lines along which the human mind has moved from its simian beginnings towards a goal which lies in the mists of an unknown future.

Beginning with man's body, his physical equipment, Mr. Hocart proceeds to trace in turn the development of his mind, his traditions, the mechanical devices which he has invented or discovered, his ritual, his social structure, ending with his speech. We never lose sight of the wood for the trees. Mr. Hocart has a fine art of selection, nothing essential is omitted, and nothing irrelevant disturbs the balance of the picture. The style is plain and workmanlike, often seasoned with apposite and pungent comment.

The student of the Old Testament will find of special value the chapters on The Quest of Life, Power, The Sacrament, The Soul, and The Disposal of the Dead. There is an adequate index. The book is certainly one to which the overworked epithet "indispensable" may be deliberately applied.

S. H. H.

Palestine Motor Map. Scale 1·500,000. Government Survey of Palestine. Price 100 mills.

We have just received this excellent pocket map. It is mounted on canvas, with a stiff cover and conveniently folded so that it can be used in motoring without being spread out. It should be most useful to residents and tourists. There are small inset maps of Jerusalem, Haifa and Jaffa. The first class motor roads are marked in red, the second class ones in a broken red line and the roads, which are available for motor traffic in the dry months only, in double dotted lines. These last routes will probably be most useful to the traveller wishing to explore the bye-ways. The lettering, which varies in size and boldness, is adjusted to the importance of each town and is wonderfully distinct and easy to read even at its smallest. The most famous ancient sites are in special type except in the case of towns of modern importance. The map fills a long-felt want. Only a small first edition has been printed. Later editions with possible corrections and improvements are promised and also editions in Arabic and Hebrew.

E. W. G. M.

THE
PALESTINE EXPLORATION FUND.

NOTES AND NEWS.

At a well-attended meeting of the Executive Committee, held January 25th, the following subjects were discussed : (1) The forthcoming excavation at Gezer. The Executive Committee of the P.E.F. are pleased to be able to announce that, through the generosity of Sir Charles Marston they are able shortly to undertake a further excavation—of a limited kind—at the site of ancient Gezer, where Professor R. A. S. Macalister made his well-known five-year exploration. The late Mr. Herbert Bentwich, LL.B., left us a legacy of £125 for the express purpose of further excavation of the Gezer site. Sir Charles Marston has now more than doubled this sum, so that it will be now possible to examine part of the not inconsiderable area which Professor Macalister was unable to touch. The Committee are glad to have obtained, through the kind assistance of Mr. Crowfoot, the Director of the British School, the services of Mr. Alan Rowe, whose remarkable work at Beisan (Bethshan) is well known to the readers of the *Quarterly Statement.* He hopes to commence work in May. If any friends who are interested in the exploration of ancient Biblical sites care to send further donations for this special work, they will enable Mr. Rowe to employ more workpeople, and to make a more extensive " dig." It is a great opportunity, and the Committee would most heartily welcome further assistance. (2) A report was presented from Mr. Crowfoot on the reconnaisance of the site of Baluʻah in Transjordania (see p. 76) and the Committee voted a grant to cover their half of the expenses (3) A letter was read from the Director of the Palestine Department of Antiquities regarding a suggested Archaeological Survey of Palestine. It was decided to submit the same for further consideration by the officers of the P.E.F. and B.S.A.J. (4) The Hon. Secretary reported the successful inauguration of a course of Lectures at 2, Hinde Street. Prof. Myres offered a lecture on March 16th on

"The Philistines," and Sir Frederic Kenyon one on April 20th on the *Codex Sinaiticus*. A lantern and chairs are to be purchased. (4) A leaflet entitled "Palestinian Archaeology," has been printed and circulated widely among tourists to Palestine. (5) In response to an appeal from Sir George Hill, of the British Museum, the Committee decided to make a grant of £5 towards the purchase of the *Codex Sinaiticus*.

Among other matters considered was a forthcoming article on Haifa Harbour (see p. 99), the suggestion of a new edition of Guy le Strange's *Palestine under the Moslems*, a translation of Sir Harry Luke's *Narrative of a Spanish Franciscan's Journey to the Holy Land* into Maltese and the new motor map of Palestine (published by the Palestine Government Survey, which we hope will shortly be on sale at 2, Hinde Street, at about 2s. the copy, a review of which occurred in the January *Quarterly Statement*.

Forthcoming P.E.F. Lectures at 2, Hinde Street, Manchester Square, W.1. April 20th, at 5 p.m., *The Codex Sinaiticus*. By Sir Frederic Kenyon, G.B.E., K.C.B., and on May 18th, at 5 p.m., *The Ras Shamra Tablets and the Old Testament*. By Professor S. H. Hooke, M.A., B.D. Subscribers and friends of the P.E.F. and B.S.A.J. are cordially invited.

Of interest to students of matters oriental will be the announcement that a new organization, the *Institut d'Études Sémitiques*, has been founded in Paris for the promotion of Semitic studies. Its organ will be the *Revue des Études Sémitiques*, a quarterly journal, with a foreign subscription of 30 francs per annum. Its special object will be the publication of original articles on current problems of Semitic studies. The names of its first president and secretary, M. Lods and M. Virolleaud, are a guarantee of the quality of the new publication. We shall welcome with interest the appearance of the new journal.

It is a matter for regret that there is as yet no corresponding publication for Semitic studies in England.

There is a touch of humour about the hypothetical transcription and translation of the Ain Shems tablet mentioned in our last issue. Dr. Barton's tentative translation runs: " . . . O El, cut through the backbone of my stammering! I desire (that?) thou shalt remove the spring of the impediment." The significance of the discovery of the Ras Shamra script as far south as Ain Shems is discussed in the present issue by Mr. Gaster. The question naturally arises, with regard to the inscription, why it should have been apparently cut in relief and stamped on a clay tablet, instead of being written in the usual way with a stylus.

A review in the February issue of the OLZ of Eissfeldt's monograph on Baal-Zephon, raises again the question of the route taken by the Israelites when they came out of Egypt. It also raises the further interesting point of the relation between the Baal-Zaphon of the Ras Shamra tablets and the Phœnician sanctuary of that name on the coast to the east of Pelusium. It would appear that the name was carried by Phœnician navigators in the 18th century to Egypt. Modern opinion with regard to the route of the Israelite refugees inclines to the view that they took the extreme northern route along the shore between the Mediterranean and Lake Bardawil where the pursuing Egyptians were bogged and overwhelmed.

M. Pierre Montet, in the course of his recent excavations at Tanis, has discovered a large brick rectangular enclosure with a brick edifice inside it, under which were foundation sacrifices. He points out that the people responsible for these sacrifices could not have been Egyptians, to whom such a custom was foreign; whereas it was a common practice with the Semites. The brick edifice has nothing like it in Egypt, unless it be the "House of the Jewess" at Daphnae. It seems to have been a *ziqqurat* or pyramidal tower with stages, somewhat similar to that at Ur. Whether it was erected by the Hyksos in honour of their god Seth, or by the Hebrews who had memories of Mesopotamia, cannot be determined, but it certainly bears witness to Asiatic influences.

In his extremely interesting and provocative monograph, *Ethnic Movements in the Near East in the 2nd Millennium B.C.*, Professor Speiser has something to say about Gen. 14. He says : " It is most unfortunate that some writers still maintain the philologically impossible and historically precarious equation of Amraphel ('mrpl) with Hammurabi." He suggests equations with Hurrian names attested in the Nuzi tablets, especially Arioch with *Ariukki*. The historical situation would certainly be relieved if we might regard the league with which Abraham victoriously contended as a Hittite and Hurrian confederacy rather than a Babylonian expedition of the time of Hammurabi. The paper raises many questions of great interest in the study of the Old Testament.

The results of Mr. Mallowan's recent expedition to Iraq are now being exhibited in the British Museum, and give a picture of a civilization antedating any pictographic records, and which the discoverer places as far back as 5000 B.C. The finds include amulets, images of the Mother Goddess, elaborate seals, miniature double-headed axes in soapstone, an amulet made in the form of an accurately copied human finger-bone, and many other remarkable objects. In Mr. Mallowan's words : " We found wheat and barley in the granary of the lowest settlement. There has been no evidence of grain grown at so early a period till now. We found traces of fractional burial as in prehistoric India and Beluchistan. We found shrines which in some ways resembled the tombs of Mycenae." It would indeed be a disaster if lack of funds should cause work of such significance to be discontinued.

The Annual Report and Accounts for the year 1933 is issued with this number.

SUBSCRIPTIONS AND INCOME TAX.—Subscribers may, if they wish, covenant to pay their subscriptions for seven years, thereby enabling the Fund to benefit by the recovery of Income Tax thereon. A form of covenant was issued with the July *Quarterly Statement*, 1932, and copies of this form may be had on application to the Assistant Secretary.

The Committee gratefully acknowledge receipt of the forms already completed.

A complete set of the *Quarterly Statements*, 1869-1910, containing some of the early letters (now scarce), with an index, 1869-1910, bound in the Palestine Exploration Fund cases, can be had. Price on application to the Secretary, 2, Hinde Street, Manchester Square, W.1.

The price of a complete set of the translations published by the Palestine Pilgrims' Text Society, in 13 volumes, with general index, bound in cloth, is £15 15s. Subscriber's price £14 14s. A catalogue describing the contents of each volume can be had on application to the Secretary, 2, Hinde Street, Manchester Square, W.1.

The Museum at the Office of the Fund, 2, Hinde Street, Manchester Square, W.1, is open to visitors every week-day from 10 o'clock till 5, except Saturdays, when it is closed at 1 p.m.

The Committee have to acknowledge with thanks the following :

Annals of Archæology and Anthropology, University of Liverpool, Vol. xx, 1-4. Jericho : City and Necropolis, IV. By J. Garstang; The British Museum Excavations at Nineveh, 1931-2. By R. Campbell Thompson and M. E. L. Mallowan; Rev. of Robinson and Oesterley, A History of Israel. By J. Garstang.

The Antiquaries Journal, xiv, 1.

The Museums Journal, 33, 10.

Journal of Egyptian Archæology, xix, 3-4. Preliminary Report of the Excavations at Tell el-Amarnah, 1932-3. By J. D. S. Pendlebury.

Journal of the Royal Society of Antiquaries of Ireland, lxiii; Pt. II.

The Scottish Geographical Magazine, 50, 1.

The American Journal of Philology, lv, 1, Jan.-Mar., 1934.

Annual of the American Schools of Oriental Research, Vol. xiii, 1931-2. Some Gleanings from the Last Excavation at Nuzi. By T. J. Meek; The Excavation of Tell Beit Mirsim, IA. By W. F. Albright; The Goddesses of Gerasa. By C. C. McCown.

Bulletin of the American Schools of Oriental Research, No. 52. Notes on the Ain Shems Tablet. By G. A. Barton.

Bulletin of the Metropolitan Museum of Art, New York, Jan., 1934.

Geographical Review, Jan., 1934.

Homiletical Review, Jan.-Feb., 1934.

Jewish Quarterly Review, xxiv, 3. Israel in Palestine—The Prophetic View. By Rabbi H. Parzen.

Journal of the American Oriental Society, Vol. 53, 4. The Death of Sennacherib. By E. G. Kraeling.

Revue Biblique, Jan., 1934. Les Peintures de la Synagogue de Doura-Europos. By Cte. du Mesnil du Buisson.

Syria, xiv, 3. Deux Tablettes de Ras Shamra. By E. Dhorme; Le Culte de Bel et de Belsamin. By H. Seyrig.

Litterae Orientales. Otto Harrassowitz, Jan., 1934.

Mitteilungen der Deutschen Or.-Gesellschaft, No. 72. Preliminary Report of the 3rd Excavation at Boghaz-Keuoi. By K. Bittel and H. G. Güterbock.

Orientalistische Literaturzeitung, Jan.-Mar., 1934. Rev. of E. König, Zentralcultstätte und Kultuszentralisierung in alten Israel. By A. Wendel; Rev. of S. A. Cook, The Place of the Old Testament in Modern Research. By O. Eissfeldt.

Zeitschrift für die alttestamentliche Wissenschaft, N.F.X., 3-4. Notes on the Text of Lamentations. By T. H. Robinson; The Triennial Cycle and the Psalter. By N. H. Snaith.

Associazione Inter. Studi Mediterranei, Bollettino iv, 4-5. Excavations at Amman. By R. Bartoccini.

Biblica, Vol. 15, fasc. 1. A New Mural Painting at Teleilat Ghassul. By P. A. Mallon.

Archiv Orientalni, Vol. vi, 1. Parerga Babylonica. By M. San Nicolo.

Al-Mashrik, Dec., 1933.

Bible Lands, Jan., 1934.

Bulletin of the Jewish Palestine Exploration Society, Jan., 1934. Shimron—Semunieh. By B. Maisler; Observations on the Historical Topography of Galilee. By J. Braslawski.

A Practical Textbook on the Hebrew Language. By M. Naor. (Review on p. 103.)

The Mishnah. Translated from the Hebrew, with Introduction and Brief Explanatory Notes. By H. Danby.

Christian Myth and Ritual. An Historical Study. By E. O. James. Review on p. 102.

Tell Asmar, Khafaje and Khorsabad. Second Preliminary Report of the Iraq Expedition. By H. Frankfort.

Les Origines des Légendes Mussulmanes dans le Coran et dans les Vies des Prophètes. By D. Sidersky.

Denkmäler Palästinas, I. By C. Watzinger.

Annual Report of the Smithsonian Institution, 1932.

Transactions of the Royal Canadian Institute, Vol. xix.

Meteorological Summaries, 1932. Government of Palestine.

The Committee will be grateful to any subscribers who may be disposed to present to the Fund any of the following books :—

The Memoirs of the Survey of Western Palestine.
The Quarterly Statement, from 1869 up to date.
Duc de Luynes, *Voyage à la Mer Morte* (1864) ; published about 1874.
K. von Raumer, *Der Zug der Isräliten.* (Leipzig, 1837).
Lagarde, *Onomastica Sacra* (1887).
Le Strange, *Palestine Under the Moslems* (1890).
New Edition of the Babylonian Talmud, English Translation. Original text edited, formulated, and punctuated by Michael L. Rodkinson. Revised and corrected by the Rev. Dr. Isaac M. Wise. Published by the New Amsterdam Book Company, New York. Vol. i, *Sabbath* already in the Library ; subsequent volumes wanted.

Whilst desiring to give publicity to proposed identification and other theories advanced by officers of the Fund and contributors to the pages of the *Quarterly Statement*, the Committee wish it to be distinctly understood that by publishing them in the *Quarterly Statement* they do not necessarily sanction or adopt them.

FORM OF BEQUEST TO THE PALESTINE EXPLORATION FUND.

I give to the Palestine Exploration Fund, London, the sum of——— to be applied towards the General Work of the Fund ; and I direct that the said sum be paid, free of legacy Duty, and that the Receipt of the Treasurer of the Palestine Exploration Fund shall be a sufficient discharge for the same.

NOTE.—*Three Witnesses are necessary to a Will by the Law of the United States of America, and Two by the Law of the United Kingdom.*

THE CONFINES OF ISRAEL AND JUDAH.

By Professor Stanley A. Cook, Litt.D., F.B.A.

In a recent issue of the *Quarterly Statement* (July, 1933, pp. 137-146), Canon Phythian-Adams raised the question of Israel's claim to the Edomite Arabah at two periods in her history: (1) from David to Jehoshaphat, and (2) from Uzziah to Ahaz. There was much more in his interesting and stimulating article than met the eye, and the significance of his argument for our general ideas of the extent of Israelite rule was endorsed by Professor Burkitt, at the annual meeting of the British School of Archæology in Jerusalem (p. 188). In point of fact, the subject introduced by the Canon proves to open up so many topics of interest that I propose here to offer some rather miscellaneous supplementary remarks, the main purpose of which will be merely to indicate the sort of evidence that has to be borne in mind when one is engaged in studying the history of Israel during the period of the monarchy.

(1) *Edom, Philistia and Judah.* In the first place, then, if we consider the stormy history of the divided kingdoms of Israel and Judah, the fluctuating relations between them, and the precarious geographical situation of Judah and Jerusalem, we can easily understand that the security of Judah always depended upon her relations, not only with the schismatic sister kingdom on her north, but also with the Philistine region on the west, Moab and Edom on the east, and the bedouins of the south. The part that could be played by Philistia, for example, is clearly seen in the latter part of the viiith cent. B.C., when Assyria was threatening Judah and Jerusalem, and Philistia, though united with Edom, Moab and Judah, had a powerful pro-Assyrian party. The history of Sennacherib's movements is well known, and in the end a number of Judæan cities were detached from western Judah and divided between the governors of Ashdod, Ekron and Gaza, of whose loyalty the king of Assyria was doubtless assured. A part of Judah thus became "Philistine."[1]

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[1] See the *Cambridge Ancient History,* III, 72 *ff.*, 382 *ff.*, cf. T. H. Robinson, *Hist. of Israel,* 1, 398.

Turning to the Biblical evidence, we should notice that although the Book of Chronicles is a relatively later and less trustworthy authority than the Book of Kings, it will sometimes helpfully amplify or supplement the statements in the earlier source.[2] Thus (*a*) if Jehoshaphat held the port of Ezion-geber at the head of the Gulf of Akabah at a time when there was no king in Edom (1 Kings, xxii, 47), the Chronicler's statement (2 Chron. xvii, 10*f*) of his power and of his tribute from Philistines and Arabians (here probably Edomites) is not extravagant. Indeed, some fragment of older tradition may be preserved in the didactic narrative or Midrash of Jehoshaphat's victory, in the wilderness of Judah, over Moab, Ammon and Edom (2 Chron. xx, 2 [for Aram], 10, 22),[3] Moreover the Chronicler's account of the disaster to the Israelite fleet (xx, 35-37) is not based directly upon Kings ; and it adds that the prophet Eliezer of Mareshah warned Jehoshaphat of its imminence. Now this, too, is noteworthy, because the prophet's father, Dodavahu, bears a name which, as was independently shown by the late Dr. Buchanan Gray, is of an old type[4], while Mareshah, situated in the Shephelah, would be in close touch with the Philistine district, and was the scene of the victory ascribed to Asa over Zerah the Cushite (probably here an Arabian, 2 Chron. xiv, *cf.* xxi, 16). The important town (it was fortified by Rehoboam, 2 Chron. xi, 8) occupied a central position—the later Eleutheropolis was the capital of a province—and was closely associated geographically with Philistia and South Palestine, and "genealogically" with the semi-Edomite clan of Caleb (1 Chron., ii, 42).

So far, at least, the chronicler's material seems to be more reliable or, rather, older than his characteristic didactic use of it. Also, he is quite consistent when, a little later, he supplements the statement in Kings of the revolt of Edom and of the west Judaean city of Libnah against Jehoram of Judah (2 Kings, viii, 20-22) by an invasion of Philistines and Arabians (2 Chron., xxi, 16). It is impossible to check his extraordinary story of their disastrous raid upon Jerusalem and the royal house; but South Palestine seems to have been in a state of ferment at that time, and we may observe that the Rechabites, who were evidently prominently connected with Jehu's reforms and his accession, were in some way related to the Kenites and the southern clans (see 1 Chron., ii, 55).

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[2] For what follows see, in particular, W. A. L. Elmslie's *Chronicles* in the Camb. Bible Series (pp. xlii*ff*).

[3] Compare 2 Kings, iii, where Jehoshaphat and Jehoram (of Israel) fight Moab somewhere at the south end of the Dead Sea. In 2 Chron. xx, 22*f*, Edom is attacked by its allies, while in 2 Kings, iii., 9, 12, 26 Edom is on the side of Israel, and the King of Moab attempts to break through and join (? or attack) the King of Edom.

[4] *Hebrew Proper Names* (London, 1896), pp. 62, 232.

The years pass, and the Assyrian king, Adad-Nirari III (about 805-2 B.C. ?) received tribute from the "land of Omri" (the northern kingdom), Edom and "Palashtu" (Philistia). Why Judah is left unmentioned can hardly be guessed; it is also wanting in the list of the Israelite and other allies of Damascus against Assyria in the time of Ahab. Perhaps it was included under the Israelite contingent.[5] However, Amaziah won a great victory over Edom, capturing Sela, and Uzziah's recovery of the port of Elath (2 Kings, xiv, 7, 22), may, with due caution, be supplemented by the Chronicler's references to his wars against the Philistines (Gath, Jabneh [Jamnia] and Ashdod) and the Arabs (2 Chron., xxvi, 6*f*).[6] But once more control of the sea was lost when *Edom*—for so we must read, instead of *Aram*—drove the Judæans from Elath in the days of Ahaz (see 2 Kings, xvi, 6), and the Chronicler (xxviii, 17*f*) tells of invasions by Edomites and Philistines and of the loss of Judæan cities.

We now come to the age of the Assyrian advance upon Palestine under Sargon and Sennacherib, when, as already mentioned, the Assyrian monuments enable us to realise how inevitably the history of Judah was bound up with that of its immediate neighbours. Both the Biblical evidence and the contemporary monuments represent the same sort of political conditions; and it is possible, nay necessary, to employ a little historical imagination in order to appreciate to the full such evidence as we have for any particular event.

(2). *Some Preliminary Conclusions.*—The foregoing hurried *résumé* serves several purposes:—(*a*). The Chronicler's weaknesses as a didactic writer are known, his special "tendencies" recognisable; but when all allowance is made, it still remains possible that he uses or reshapes material quite as old as that in Kings. In §1 above, the evidence has been set forth without any attempt at criticism; and the object was to emphasise a certain fundamental similarity in the earlier and the later sources—their historical value as well as a number of historical intricacies being left undiscussed. It seems probable that of the often very scanty notices in Kings fuller details were once available, and that the Chronicler has shaped and presented these in his characteristic manner. Precisely in the same way Josephus has preserved old Biblical material mingled with much that is quite late. Moreover, the account of the Patriarchs in the Book of Jubilees combines Biblical material with much that is not only obviously very late, but also, in certain cases, points to traditions similar to those of which the earlier source has mere fragments.[7] In other words, our earlier sources do not of course give us all the earlier available material, and some of it may at times survive, though in a distinctly late and unhistorical form, in later books.

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[5] *Camb. Anc. Hist.*, iii, 376, *cf.* p. 29.

[6] The Meunim may be from Ma'in south-east of Petra which Canon Phythian-Adams and others identify with Sela (*Q.S.*, p. 142).

(*b*). From a comparison of Kings with Chronicles and, where possible, with the Assyrian monuments, it is obvious that the history of Judah (political, economic, religious, &c.) cannot be severed from that of the larger complex of which it formed part. This is so evident in those cases where our material allows the comparison, that everywhere, and especially where it is deficient, the fact must still be borne in mind. Having formed a general idea of the conditions we must ask what the situation would be when Judah was weak and helpless—we must ask, if only to realise how imperfect our knowledge is.

(*c*). The Biblical history contrives to describe the fortunes of the two kingdoms of Israel and Judah separately; and consequently one is wont to study the respective sources separately without considering the situations at all realistically. Thus, it is clear that Judah was subordinate to Israel during some part, at least, of the Omri dynasty. We appreciate the interrelations (*e.g.*, 1 Kings, xxii, 4; 2 Kings, iii, 7) and the necessity for social and religious reform ; we follow the massacre of the royal lines of Judah and Israel and the accession of Jehu. But although we reach the climax of the period it is surely surprising to find, suddenly, that some years elapse before the reform in the north is followed by a corresponding one in the south. We have already noticed some evidence both for attacks *from the south* upon Judah and Jerusalem, and for some connection between the Rechabites, who took part in Jehu's reforms, and the South Palestinian clans. This is not the place to discuss the events ; it must suffice to remark that the history of Judah here offers several perplexities, and that the account of the Judaean reforms (2 Kings, xii), seems to come from a new source.

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[7] Notably Gen. xlviii, 22, l. 9*ff*. The fragment in Gen. vi, 1-4 (birth of the Nephilim) *presupposes* traditions alien to the rest of Gen. i-xi but *late* writings preserve *late* forms of them.

In some way, the two kingdoms fell apart, and when, subsequently, Amaziah rashly challenged Joash and was defeated, Jerusalem was despoiled and partially dismantled (2 Kings, xiv, 13*f*). Now, the chronological notices are conflicting, and, on one calculation, it would even seem that there was a gap in the succession, and that for a brief period Judah was without a king until Azariah (Uzziah) was elected (xiv, 17, 23, xv,1). Did Jeroboam also reign over Judah ? Uzziah and Jeroboam II were, for some years at least, contemporary, and in the nature of the case, the two states must have reacted upon one another. But the old writers completely sever them, and it is difficult here and elsewhere to understand what was happening in Judah.

(*d*). A very curious phenomenon in Judaeo-Israelite history is afforded by the fact that while Jehoram of Judah had to face a revolt in the South (2 Kings, viii, 20-22, see above), his namesake, Joram or Jehoram of Israel, was also engaged in conflict in approximately similar circumstances (2 Kings, iii). His Judæan contemporary was Jehoshaphat (see the present text), or Ahaziah (see the Lucianic recension of the Septuagint), but according to one chronological scheme it would be his namesake, Jehoram (2 Kings, i, 17). Indeed, such are the details that we may even wonder whether there was only *one* Jehoram over a single kingdom, and that we have the Judæan and Israelite versions of the same event. That is to say, since it is clear from the biblical narratives that Judah was in closest relationship with, if not a vassal of, Israel, during some part, at least, of the Omri dynasty, it is conceivable that traditions of a Pan-Israel have been subsequently rehandled to form distinct Judæan and (North) Israelite versions.[8]

If so, we may find a parallel in the list of the kings of Edom in Gen. xxxvi, 31-39, the last three of whom are Shaul, Baal-hanan, and Hadar. Now Shaul is only a more accurate spelling of Saul, and to Saul was ascribed the conquest of Edom and also Amalek (1 Sam., xiv, 47*f*, xv.) Hadar, or rather Hadad, recalls the Edomite who became the bitter adversary of Solomon (1 Kings, xi, 14-25). As for Baal-hanan, we may think of the conjecture of the late Professor Sayce that he is the same as El-hanan of Bethlehem to whom the overthrow of Goliath was also ascribed (2 Sam., xxi, 19, xxiii, 24). David, on this ingenious conjecture, was otherwise known as El-hanan (*cf.* Jedidiah and Solomon, 2 Sam., xii, 24*f*) ; and as conqueror of Edom (2 Sam., viii, 14) was known to the Edomites as Baal-hanan. Thus these kings reign in Edom " before there reigned any king over the children of Israel " (Gen. xxxvi, 31)—though we should have to understand, in this case, *North* Israel as distinct from Judah.

(*e*) Edom and Israel were brother-peoples, and although there were periods of bitter enmity, there is genealogical and other evidence for a close intermixture of Edomite-Idumæan and Judæo-Israelite blood. The Israelites were warned against Chemosh of Moab and Milcom of Ammon—but who was the national god of Edom ?[9] The patriarchal traditions represent Esau (Edom) as the more powerful brother, and on independent grounds there is reason to believe that Edomite tradition was taken over by Israel (*e.g.*, Gen. xxxvi). Cruelly treated by David (2 Sam. viii, 13) and Amaziah (2 Kings xiv, 7), Edom would take fierce revenge when opportunity offered (Amos i, 11*f*) ; and it may be noticed that if the males of Edom were exterminated by Joab (1 Kingsxi, 15*f*), the natural result would be that the young women of Edom would be carried off captive and Israel not inconsiderably infiltrated with

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[8] It will be noticed that both kingdoms have as kings Jehoram and Ahaziah, though not in the same order.

[9] A. H. Godbey, in his interesting study, *The Lost Tribes a Myth* (U.S.A., 1930), pp. 568, 703, suggests El Shaddai. This is a very attractive suggestion because the name probably meant, originally, " the Mountain-god," and the " field of Edom " should preferably be " mountain-country of E." Gebal (*i.e.*, Edom, Ps. lxxxiii, 7). has the same meaning.

Edomite blood.[10] In like manner, in spite of the periods of enmity between Judah and "Philistia," there must have been a certain amount of intermarriage—the tribes of Israel were by no means so pure as they claimed to be. It has long been seen, from 1 Chron. ii and iv, and other references, that there was a considerable Edomite or semi-Edomite element in the constitution of Judah. This would necessarily influence the social, political, religious and other relations between Judah and its Edomitic or South Palestinian neighbours. It is, therefore, quite intelligible, not only that the Edomite Arabah could, as Canon Phythian-Adams suggests, be reckoned as Israelite (or Judæan) territory, but that if and when one king ruled over the whole, both Israel (or Judah) and Edom could reckon him as their own, and he could appear in an Edomite list (Gen. xxxvi, 31*ff*). To a further discussion of this more or less Edomite or South Palestinian *bloc* I shall return later (see §4).

(3) *Israel.* What impression does the ordinary reader gain of the might of the kingdoms of Israel and Judah? It is often easy to regard them as minor and relatively unimportant states, the pawns of the great surrounding powers. And so to a certain extent they were. Yet it is clear that Israel under the Omri dynasty and Judah, say, of the age of Hezekiah, were far more powerful than the Biblical narratives represent, and only the contemporary Assyrian monuments enable us to realise how extensive was their political influence.[11] It is still far from easy to decide whether Azariah (Uzziah) of Judah was really the Azriyau of Ya'udi who headed a North Syrian league against Tiglath-Pileser III (738 B.C.). The latest writer is against the identification, which certainly has very serious difficulties[12]; but history was then being unfolded on a large scale, and one has only to contrast the political horizon of some of the great prophets with the restricted interests of the Biblical account of the Omri-Jehu period to see how imperfect would be our knowledge if we had only the later written sources upon which to rely. As it is, Jeroboam and Uzziah were for a time contem-

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[10] *Cf.* The story of Midian, Num. xxxi (verses 15, 35), and the law, Deut. xxi, 10*ff*.

[11] In the anti-Assyrian league in the middle of the 9th cent., B.C., Ahab had the third largest army, and contributed the greatest number of chariots.

[12] Robinson, *op. cit.*, p. 374.

porary, and controlled an extensive area; but it is more than difficult to know what is meant by the statement that the former recovered Damascus and Hamath "to Judah" (2 Kings xiv, 28, R.V. groundlessly insert "which had belonged"). None the less, we do get hints enough of the warlike reputation of Israel, and "the rebellious and bad city" of Jerusalem (Ezra iv, 12, 15).

In this connexion, attention may be drawn to a series of references to the northern border of Israel at or near Riblah. This important town, situated—if rightly identified—in the Orontes valley, 50 miles south of Hamath, was of the first strategical value. It was here that the Egyptian Pharaoh Necoh punished Jehoahaz (2 Kings xxiii, 33) and the Babylonian Nebuchadrezzar took vengeance upon Zedekiah and the Judæan princes (xxv, 6, 20*f*). It was the place on "the border of Israel" where the rebellious house of Israel were to be judged (Ezek. xi, 11)[13]; and with this corresponds sufficiently the situation of the northern frontier of Israel towards Hamath (Josh. xiii, 5, 1 Kings viii, 65, Ezek. xlvii, 16, etc.). Hence it is perhaps possible to understand how it was that king Josiah should be found at Megiddo in the land of Samaria (2 Kings xxiii, 29*f*, 2 Chron. xxxv, 20*ff*). The statement is difficult to elucidate in any event; but it does look as though (*a*) Samaria was not wholly cut off from Judah, (*b*) that, on occasion, Judah could hold sway over the land of the erstwhile kingdom of Israel, if not farther northwards[14]; and (*c*) that "(North) Israel" still continued to be a policial entity. But the precise connotation of the term "Israel" is one of the most knotty of Old Testament problems (see § 5).

(4) *South Palestine.* (*a*) To return to Judah and its southern neighbours. Its dependence upon relations with Philistia and Edom was not confined to any one age: Ezekiel, for example, speaks of these two contemptuous neighbours of hers[15]. No doubt, politically, Judah and Jerusalem tended to gravitate southwards, and we may generalize and say that Judah tended to look towards the southern desert and Egypt, while the northern kingdom looked towards Phœnicia and Syria. It must be remembered that the Egyptian border readily extended eastwards so as to include the whole of the

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[13] It should be read also for Diblah in Ezek. vi, 14.

[14] The presence of Hamathite settlers in Samaria would facilitate this (2 Kings xvii, 24, 30).

[15] xvi, 57, for Syria (Aram) we must read Edom.

Sinaitic peninsula, and the wanderings of the Israelites could be said to be in "the wilderness of the land of Egypt" (Ezek. xx, 36). There was even a land of Goshen to the south of Palestine, mentioned along with Gaza and Kadesh (Josh. x, 41, xi, 16). In fact, when one considers the strength of the Egyptian hold upon Palestine, and especially the southern part, it was not always necessary to go down into the land of the Nile to be enslaved by Egypt, and, conversely, flight from Egyptian bondage would hardly be an escape, if tribes in the Delta region took refuge, for example, in a Sinai that was under the thumb of Egypt.[16]

In addition to this, although one is wont to think of the Philistines as definitely settled in their five cities (Ashdod, Gath, Ashkelon, Gaza and Ekron), popular story also found them in the neighbourhood of Gerar and Beersheba (Gen. xxvi, cf. xxi, 32); and the story of David at the court of Achish implies that the Philistine king of Gath was directly interested in the Amalekites, Geshurites and other peoples as far south as the border of Egypt (I Sam. xxvii, 8*ff*, cf. Josh. xiii, 2*f*). Philistines are found northwards in the Danite city of Gibbethon, and the trouble they caused Baasha (I Kings xv, 27, xvi, 15) justifies Skinner's remark (*Century Bible* p. 212) that Gibbethon "must have played as great a part in the wars with the Philistines as Ramoth-Gilead afterwards did in those with Damascus."

That intermarriage between Israelites and "Philistines" was not inconsiderable seems clear on biological grounds.[17]

(*b*) During the many centuries over which Biblical history ranges there was opportunity enough for serious changes of population. To those after the fall of Samaria I shall refer later (see §5). To supplement what has been said on relations between Edom and Judah we may now note the highly interesting fact that along with the decline of the northern kingdom we can mark the increasing political prominence of South Palestine, Egypt and various Arab states or peoples.[18] There are some perplexing questions which need not be mentioned here, but the evidence of the Assyrian monuments, as a whole, sufficiently allows us to understand the true background upon which to place the Biblical history. If we take a long view of the course of events we can see that Assyria, after subjugating Syria and Palestine, was preparing the way for the invasion of Egypt.[19] To do this it was necessary to secure the passage from South Palestine to the Delta, and the area from Egypt to North Arabia must first be brought under control. It was an age of profound movements. Samaria was despoiled, and colonists, some of Midianite and Arab affinity, were settled therein. Judah was to be terribly weakened by Sennacherib's invasion, the loss of men and treasure, and the forceful deprivation of 43 of its western townships. If, earlier, the Biblical narratives had shown how the area to the south of Palestine was bound up with Judah, it is now through archæology and the Assyrian monuments that one can grasp the sort of part that it could play.

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[16] Godbey, *The Lost Tribes a Myth*, p. 694, suggests that the fertile plain south of Gaza would actually be "Egypt," so strong was the Egyptian domination there.

[17] See Dr. Redcliffe Salaman, "What has become of the Philistines? A biologist's point of view," *Q. S.*, 1925, pp. 37 ff, 68 ff.

[18] *Camb. Anc. Hist.* III, 383f.

(*c*) This southern complex must, of course, always have been an important factor. It united Egypt, Palestine and Arabia; it connected both south-west Asia with Egypt, and Arabia with the Levant. Through it ran the great trade-routes, and it is certain that its economic and political value was not gained or lost in a day.[20] Indeed, a bird's-eye survey, piecing together all that is known of the area down to the days of the Nabataeans, will suggest that it was one that was not less significant for Biblical history than, say, Damascus or Aram. Now, as everyone knows, the turquoise mines of the south Sinaitic peninsula were constantly exploited by Egypt; and here, at Serabit el-Khadim, Professor Sir Flinders Petrie found the remains of a cult more or less "Semitic," and a script, still scarcely deciphered, which seems to hold a place between the Egyptian hieroglyphs and the North Semitic alphabet. Who these "Semites" were is still an unsolved problem, but it is a very natural supposition that when Egypt was not strong enough to exploit these valuable mines there were "Semites" ready to seize the opportunity and work them for themselves.[21]

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[19] Cf. Sidney Smith in the *Camb. Anc. Hist.* iii, 74 f, 83 f.

[20] See Sir George Adam Smith, *Ency. Biblica,* "Trade and Commerce," §§14 f. 31 ff.

[21] Possibly Solomon himself, as Canon Phythian-Adams suggests (p. 145). According to Garstang (*Joshua-Judges*, p. 63) the working of the mines by Egypt ceased soon after the reign of Rameses III (died 1161 B.C.).

(*d*) In other words, we may emphasize the general political and economic importance of this southern *bloc* and assume that it was not recognised by the Egyptians alone. Whether any connexion is to be traced between it and Ras Shamra in North Syria it is too early to say ; though in any case it is interesting to find a Zeus Kasius and Baal-Zaphon both at or near Pelusium and in the north.[22] It is enough for the present to bear in mind the prominence of the port of Gaza and its trade in the Levant, and such evidence as we have for the non-Semitic " Philistines " of the south of Palestine. We are, to be sure, very poorly informed as to the Delta and coast-regions, and it is perhaps more than curious that down here in the south we find such un-Semitic names as (Kadesh) Barnea, Ziklag and Amalek. For Ashdod and Ashkelon Semitic etymologies might be found.

Without indulging in any precarious theorising it can be seen that from what we know of Philistines, Edomites, the extension of Egypt towards South Palestine and the activity of the Arab tribes of the district we must read Judaean history with a full recognition of what can be gathered from a deeper examination of the Biblical sources, the monuments and archæological research.[23]

Thus does the whole district which forms the subject of the article " Israel in the Arabah " bring a number of interesting enquiries which, needless to say, demand a treatment far less sketchy than I have attempted in these pages.[24] One still remains, and it is perhaps the most fundamental of all—what do we understand by " Israel " ?

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[22] See the writer's *Religion of Ancient Palestine*, pp. 119, 157, and the extremely interesting and full monograph by Eissfeldt (*Baal Zaphon, etc.*; 1932).

[23] For past theorising on a North Arabian land of Muṣri or Mizraim, distinct from Egypt, see " Mizraim " in *Ency. Biblica* and *Ency. Brit.* 11th and 14th ed. The theories of a generation ago no doubt went too far, but they were based upon evidence, some of it still unimpeachable.

[24] As regards the distribution of copper, traces of mines are to be found in the Lebanon district (*Encyc. Biblica*, " copper," § 3, " Trade," § 7), if not also in Judah on the western side of the Dead Sea (*Q. S.*, 1926, pp. 56-58). The copper mines at Fenan (Pinon-Punon) recall the remark made, I think, by Father Lagrange that it was in their vicinity the story of the Brazen Serpent was evidently placed ; note Oboth. Num. xxxiii, 42 and xxi, 10, and the place Iye-Abarim, the first element of which suggests a reference to " ruined " heaps or sites (cf. the name of the city Ai). Does Abarim stand for Ibrim—the Hebrews ?

(5) *Israel after the Fall of Samaria.* For the period of the divided monarchies "Israel" denotes the Northern kingdom as distinct from that of the South—though there were times when, as in the Omri dynasty, Judah was evidently subservient to Israel, or when (? times of Uzziah, Josiah) Judah might exercise sway farther North.[25] Prior to the schism one thinks of a Pan-Israel, a union of twelve tribes; whereas after the fall of Samaria and the deportation of the ten tribes one commonly regards the northern area as alien, and one observes how, in due course, Judah felt itself to be the only true "Israel."[26] Let us briefly note the Biblical evidence as it stands.

(*a*) Because Solomon had turned away from the God of Israel (I Kings, xi, 3-11) Jeroboam is "king" of Israel and Judah has only a "prince" (*nāsi'*; *vv*, 34 *ff.*) Jeroboam might have had a "sure house" like David (*v.* 38); but, subsequently, because of his apostasy, Israel is to be smitten, uprooted, and scattered beyond the Euphrates (xiv, 15 *f.*).[27] So, out of the twelve portions of Israel, Jeroboam has ten, and the south has one (I Kings, xi, 13, 32, xii, 20), or two, including Benjamin (xii, 21, 23).[28] Thus Israel and Judah are severed, but there could be "children of Israel which dwelt in the cities of Judah" (xii, 17) or, as the Chronicler says, men "out of all the tribes of Israel" might come to Jerusalem to sacrifice to the God of their fathers (2 Chron, xi, 16).

(*b*). After the fall of Samaria and the introduction of colonists and settlers, a new situation was established, and one commonly feels that instead of Judah *versus* Israel, it is now Judah (or the true Israel) *versus* the Samaritans. Yet we read how men of Shechem, Shiloh, and Samaria could come and worship at the ruined city of Jerusalem (Jer. xli, 5) and how, later, the people of the North could claim a share in the rebuilding of the Temple, but were repulsed (Ezr. iv, 2*ff*, Neh. ii 20). Thus the North was not wholly alien, and, naturally, as the land could not have been entirely denuded, both some of the earlier " Israelite " inhabitants and some of the older names (Joseph, Asher, &c.) would survive.[29]

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[25] Especially in the late stories of the Chronicler, 2 Chron. xv, 8 (Asa) xvii, 2, xix, 4 (Jehoshaphat) xxv, 13 (Amaziah).

[26] Again, cf. the Chronicler (2 Chron. xiii, 8-12, xxv, 7).

[27] In the warning to Solomon (1 Kings ix, 6 f) *all* Israel includes "this house" (the temple) and Judah.

[28] The question of Jerusalem and Benjamin is a complicated one in itself.

(*c*). The Biblical writer or writers who comment upon the fall of the northern kingdom expressly refer to the mixed cults and the worship of Yahweh along with other gods (2 Kings, xvii, 29-33). But, before this, they denounce (North) Israel—and Judah (*vv.* 13, 19); they condemn Israel for walking in the sins of the peoples whom Yahweh had cast out from before them (*v.* 7*f*); they have sinned since the days of Jeroboam (*vv.* 21*ff*). They then refer to the priest brought back from exile to teach the new settlers the religion of the land (*v.* 25*f*), and finally the new population (a fusion of earlier inhabitants and fresh settlers) are identified with the original stock who had come out of Egypt, even those with whom Yahweh had made his covenant (*vv.* 34*ff*). Thus the new population " feared the Lord and served their graven images . . . as did their fathers " (*v.* 41). If the original Israel intermarried with the Canaanites (Judges iii, 6), the present inhabitants, natives and colonists, were not less unmixed.

(*d*). That is to say, although the deportation and fate of the Lost Ten Tribes has impressed itself upon tradition and imagination, according to another view there was still an " Israel " in the north. So, in the later literature there are rival views, one of ten tribes in exile, the other of a continuity with the earlier tribes of the old " Israel."[30] In like manner the Samaritans—whom foreigners did not necessarily distinguish from the Jews—would claim or repudiate kinship with the Jews according to circumstances, and when these were prosperous would base their kinship on their descent from Joseph.[31]

In fact, when we leave the " canonical " tradition of the Lost Tribes—which, we may suspect, was intended to accentuate the later cleavage between Jews and Samaritans—the strength of the evidence for the continuity of "Israel" after the fall of Samaria is noteworthy. It is not merely that the Chronicler will represent periods of close interrelations (*e.g.*, 2 Chron., xxxv, 18), but, as Dr. Gaster very emphatically states in his Schweich Lectures on *The Samaritans* (1925, p. 12*f*), neither Jeremiah nor Ezekiel gives any indication that the North had been denuded, or Ephraim supplanted by a mass of proselytes, or the old Israel replaced by a strange population.[32] Surely Rachel was not bewailing the capture of a un-Israelite or only semi-Israelite people (Jer., xiii, 15)!

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[29] Sargon explicitly refers to the officers left in charge and to the tribute imposed. See further Oesterley, *Hist. of Israel*, ii, 148.

[30] See R. H. Charles, *Apocrypha and Pseudepigrapha*, ii, 300*f*, note on *Testaments of the xii Patriarchs, Reuben* vi, 8. *Cf.* Anna of the tribe of Asher (Luke ii, 36).

[31] Josephus, *Antiquities*, ix, 14, 3, xi, 8, 6. Similarly the Samaritan temple on Mt. Gerizim was or was not in honour of the God of the Jews (xii, 5, 5). In the New Testament the woman of Samaria speaks of " our father Jacob " (John iv, 12, *cf.* ver. 20).

(*e*). For a number of years scholars have been increasingly attracted by the question of the history of (North) Israel after the fall of Samaria; it is recognised that due justice has not been done to the Samaritans. Thus Prof. J. A. Montgomery, in his book *The Samaritans: the earliest Jewish Sect* (1907, p. 61) writes: "Both Judaism and Samaritanism go back to a common foundation in the circumstances of the age of the exile in the vith century." The late Professor Burney (*Judges*, 1918, p. xlvi, *n*) gives reasons for his view that the book of Deuteronomy originated in prophetic circles of the North after the fall of Samaria, "The mainly late narrative of 2 Kings, xvii, 24-41, which reads almost as though the foreign element were in sole possession and the religion of Yahweh had died out, is without doubt coloured by bitter antipathy to the Samaritans of later times." So also Professor Adam Welch (*Deuteronomy*, 1932),[33] treats of the continuity of (North) Israel after the fall of Samaria, the efforts to preserve Yahwism and prevent absorption, and common activity of men of the North and South (pp. 79*f*, 101, 137, 149, 204*f*). This tendency to recognise the importance of the North for the religious history of Israel takes a novel form when Dr. Gaster holds that the prophet Ezekiel was a "northerner" rather than a "southerner," whose ideal central spot of Israel was not Jerusalem, but Shechem or Mt. Gerizim: Ezekiel was a North Israelite, and his appeal was to a (North) Israelite community.[34]

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[32] *cf.* also Godbey, pp. 670*ff*.

[33] *cf.* his *Code of Deuteronomy* (1924), p. 209; and *The Expository Times*, Feb., 1926, p. 218. Prof. Welch, however, considers that the Israelite remnant was in danger of being submerged by the new-comers.

[34] *Op. cit.*, pp. 15, 71. Similarly, in some important respects, the Rev. James Smith, in *The Book of the Prophet Ezekiel* (1931), p. 66*f*. That Shechem was the central sanctuary in Ezekiel's scheme is also the view of the Rev. Mackay, *Princeton Theolog. Review*, xx, 399*ff*, xxi, 372*ff*, xxii, 27*ff*.

(*f*). The view that the Samaritans were of the old stock of Israel and that " Israel " by no means came to an end with the fall of the Northern kingdom may perhaps be said to have established itself. It takes various forms and some scholars go farther than others in working it out. There is a plain statement in Oesterley, *History of Israel* (1932, ii, 146*ff*). The late Professor Kennett, more than any one else, wrote constantly on the subject from 1905 onwards, and offered a far-reaching reconstruction of the history.[35] Professor Torrey, in various writings (notably *Ezra Studies*, 1910, especially pp. 284-335) has given what in many respects is the most incisive statement of the question[36]. No doubt (North) Israel underwent profound internal changes of population after 720 B.C., but what of Judah after the fall of Jerusalem in 586 B.C., and the incursion of natives of Edom, Moab and Ammon ? The pressure of South Palestine seems to have been particularly strong, and the tribe of Judah, as the genealogies in 1 Chron, ii, iv, and other references testify, was singularly composite. Hence just as there were prophets who considered Judah far more iniquitous than (North) Israel or Samaria (Jer. iii, 11*f*, cf. xxiii, 14*f*, Ezek. xvi, 51), so it was Judah and Jerusalem which suffered terribly at the hands of Babylonia, whereas Samaria appears to have been more firmly established and to have suffered less. In a sense the Judæan population was almost as mixed as the " Israelites " of the north, and Judah could not afford to gibe at the impurity of Samaritan blood.

(*g*). There were three periods when the South Palestinian infiltration would be especially strong. The first is at the earliest period, before the rise of David and the Judæan state.[37] The second, in the opinion of the present writer, was before the rise of Jehu.[38] The third may be dated about the time of the exile when, as is very commonly held, semi-Edomite clans moved northwards towards Jerusalem. This is not the place to pursue this farther, it must suffice to lay emphasis upon the undoubted prominence of South Palestinian, Edomite and other desert influences in and around Judah at this period, a period when, as has already been seen, the people of Samaria could be regarded as " Israelite." Moreover these movements cannot be regarded in isolation. Already earlier, in the viith cent. Assyria was troubled by the warring tribes (Kedar, &c.) east of the Jordan, and in spite of the victories which she claims, there can be little doubt but that we are witnessing developments which finally led to the Edomites being pushed out of their old haunts by the Nabataeans.

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[35] See *The Church of Israel* (1933), pp. xliff, xlv*f*, 24, 29*ff*, etc.
[36] See also his *Pseudo-Ezekiel* (1930), pp. 102*ff*.
[37] See Ed. Meyer, *Die Israeliten und ihre Nachbarstamme* (1906), p. 446.
[38] *Camb. Anc. Hist.*, iii, 366*ff*.

(6). *Conclusion.*—In a word, while the attention of the student is naturally concentrated upon the steps in the rise of Israel as a union of tribes, and in its history, as a state and as an undivided monarchy, a closer survey of the Biblical evidence has convinced scholars to a varying extent that in the later periods there are historical and ethnological problems certainly not less important and vital. What the best solution may be, these pages make no effort to suggest. Certainly " Judah " and " Israel " did not have the same meaning and content throughout the stormy centuries, and Judæan anti-Samaritan hostility has certainly made it difficult if not impossible to obtain an unbiased treatment of the events.

It would seem that (North) Israel was far more important and for a longer period than could have been gathered from the Biblical writers who take a definitely Judæan standpoint. Its literature was more extensive and influential. There was some continuity even after the fall of Samaria and the influx of colonists and settlers from the desert and elsewhere. It would seem that Judah as a whole was very closely bound up with the peoples of the south, and since history is studied nowadays from the economic point of view, there is no doubt that, as Canon Phythian-Adams has shown, much more attention must be paid to the question of the economic dependence of Israel (as a whole) upon all sources of wealth and trade. Finally, on independent grounds it is clear that much "Israelite" religion was of Palestinian origin (*P.S.*, p. 50). Thus do archæology and the monuments and the better knowledge we are gaining of the lands of the Bible place its problems, great and small, upon a new basis ; and it will only be through the further development of such research that this knowledge will be less imperfect.

It remains only to observe that this article has endeavoured to steer clear of all " criticism " ; but it will perhaps have shown why it is that a closer examination of the Biblical evidence—here and elsewhere—forces an enquiry into the textual, literary and other problems which go to constitute "criticism."

AN EXPEDITION TO BALU‘AH.

By J. W. Crowfoot, M.A., F.S.A., C.B.E.

A rude slab of basalt with some figures carved on it was found four years ago by Mr. Head, of the Trans-jordan Antiquities Department, at Balu‘ah, a place in Moab, which is about 15 miles north of Kerak as the crow flies, but takes two hours to reach in a motor car.

The slab was shaped only on one face, and the carving represented a worshipper standing between two deities with four fragmentary lines in an undecipherable script above (Plate 1). The importance of the stele was recognised at once. Mr. Horsfield, Director of the Department, removed it to the new Museum at Amman, and presented a communication on the discovery to the International Congress of Orientalists which met at Leyden in 1931. A year later the slab was the subject of a joint article by Mr. Horsfield and Père Vincent in the *Revue Biblique* (Vol. 41, pages 417 to 444, with references to earlier travellers), and a second study of it, written by M. E. Drioton, has appeared more recently in the same journal (Vol. 42, pages 353-365). The scene upon the stele and the details of the figures, as analysed by M. Drioton, carry us back to the Egypt of the 20th dynasty, and more specifically to the reign of Ramses III. ; the god on the left holds out an ankh to the worshipper in the middle ; the latter wears a robe which first became popular under the 20th dynasty and a soft cylindrical " tarbush " which occurs on representations of Beduin chiefs, Shasu, in the time of Ramses III. ; the goddess on the right wears a girdle round the waist and a border on her skirt, which are characteristic of the same period. The stele cannot be earlier than the beginning of the 12th century B.C.

In the interval between the two publications just mentioned the Committees of the Palestine Exploration Fund and the British School of Archæology in Jerusalem asked the writer to make preliminary soundings on the site with a view of determining whether it might be profitably excavated at a later date. The note which follows gives the results of a journey taken in response to this request.

The expedition was made in conjunction with the Transjordan Department of Antiquities ; it was made therefore under the most favourable conditions, and we are deeply grateful for the assistance which we received from the Department. Our party, which consisted of Mr. Horsfield himself, Mrs. Crowfoot, Miss Anne Fuller and the writer, started from Amman on the 11th of November, with Dr. Albright and the members of an American School Expedition, which was working, like ourselves, in conjunction with the Department, at a site rather nearer to Kerak called Ader. We parted from our American friends at the site in question and, reaching Balu'ah late in the afternoon, pitched tents south of the ruin field in an area covered with the marks of old Beduin encampments, rows of black basalt stones outlining the places of their beds and stores. The next day was spent in reconnoitring the site and in engaging labourers to make soundings at the most promising spots. We returned to Amman on the 18th.

The rolling plains of Moab looked intolerably dreary at this season ; there was not a tree to be seen for miles, the ground was bare of vegetation and the villages few and mean. The Mojib, or ancient Arnon, meanders through the country in a deep trough which makes communications between north and south very difficult. This is why we were obliged to approach Balu'ah by a circuitous route from the south, directing our course on Jebel Sheihan, one of the few peaks which rise above the monotonous horizon. Balu'ah lies just under this mountain in a fork between two small tributaries of the Mojib. One of them is a broad featureless depression east of the site ; the other, which circles close round it on the north and north west, is an astonishingly romantic little gully with steep sides of pillared basalt rising in tiers of precipitous steps from a tumbled mass of boulders. In the bottom of the gully there are a few dwarfed fig trees, and close to them four or five springs of excellent water which explain why this site was of importance. In the morning flights of sand grouse and partridge came down to drink, and all day long during our stay animals were being driven to the water from some Arab tents on Jebel Sheihan and from a

Christian village, called Ismakiyah, three or four miles away south. At present this village of Ismakiyah is the nearest permanent settlement.

The ruins are as gloomy and desolate as the plain on which they stand ; they stretch over an area measuring about 600 yards from east to west and half this distance across. They consist mostly of the walls of small ruined houses, built of uncut black basalt blocks and standing a metre or two high, with depressions of putty-coloured soil between them, supporting a few shrivelled plants. There is only one large building in a better state of preservation, the Kasr, to which we shall return later, and there are two mounds which may conceal important structures ; the stones on one of them have been rearranged recently to form a praying place. On the north side above the valley there is a long line of walling, but on the open side towards the plain the town walls are difficult to trace ; the upper parts have probably been pulled down to form Beduin encampment lines, and the lower parts silted over. At the west end of the site there is an area covered with pits which may be collapsed cisterns or tombs.

The site was visited a few months ago by Dr. Glueck, who collected a large number of sherds from the surface ranging from late Early Bronze to Early Arabic. The periods from Early Bronze to Early Middle Bronze and from Early Iron 1 to Early Iron 2 were well represented ; the Iron Age pottery he describes as exactly like that found at el Medeiyineh in the Wadi eth Themed and figurines of the same type were found on both sites. Nabataean ware was found particularly round the Kasr and Early Arabic to the west. Here, as on many other Moabite sites, he noted a blank between the Middle Bronze 1 and the Early Iron 1, say, between the 18th and the 13th-12th century B.C. (*Bulletin of the American Schools of Oriental Research*, No. 51, 1933, pages 16-18). The most interesting pieces which we picked up on the surface were a small head of a small animal in terra cotta, a piece of Attic ware about the date 400 B.C., and the fragment of the base of a Rhodian amphora.

Of our three soundings the most informative was that made just behind the north town wall, close to the present track down to the springs. The wall is built on the crest of the cliff which overlooks the gully, and there is a depression behind it some forty metres long which is covered with earth and bare of ruins. It looked as if there might be sufficient accumulation of soil here to give some idea of the character and date of the wall and possibly even a series of stratified deposits. We marked out a trench accordingly behind the wall, some M 3·1 from north to south and M 3·75 from east to west. The wall looks very massive from the valley ; it is built of moderately large blocks of basalt laid dry in rough courses and now covered with lichen ; in one place it had evidently been repaired with smaller stones at a later period. On excavation this massive looking wall proved to our surprise to be only one stone thick, but our surprise was lessened when we struck at a depth of one metre below the surface a transverse wall which was bonded into the main wall and belonged therefore, we can hardly doubt, to a casemate of some kind. Rock was reached in our trench at a depth of M 2·80. The soil in the top metre above the level of the transverse wall was full of potsherds like those we found in a trench north of the Kasr, sherds which belonged at earliest to the Middle Iron period, say 900—600 B.C., and may be a little later (Pl. 2, fig. 1). The pottery below this was quite different in character. We brought back to Jerusalem a large collection of samples from different levels, but in the opinion of the experts who have kindly examined them, including Père Vincent, Dr. Albright and Dr. Fisher, the whole collection from the lower levels in this trench is singularly homogeneous in date ; with the exception of one or two fragments which might belong to the end of the Late Bronze Age the whole collection dates from the Early Iron Age, from about 1200 to about 900 B.C. The collection contains several pieces of painted Moabite ware (Plate 10), but in general the pottery is rather poorer than contemporary ware from west of the Jordan, and the most striking local peculiarity is a fondness for small smooth ledge handles close to the rim like the ledge handles on the inside of the Middle Iron Samaria foot-baths (see Fig. 2, and Plate 9). The pottery belongs then to the Early Iron Age, and casemated walls also are a very common feature on fortified Palestinian sites of this period. In some cases the casemates seemed to have formed regular rooms, in others they were merely a constructional device, a grid of walls enclosing spaces which were filled up solid with earth and debris. The thinness of the outer wall at Balu'ah shows that the defences here were of the second type, and we may conclude that the construction dates back from the Early Iron Age, and that the filling below the top of the transverse wall is probably the original filling thrown in when the wall was built. The upper debris was presumably deposited after the transverse wall had been broken down to its present level.

Two other soundings were made, one at the east end of the Kasr, the other against the north wall.

The Kasr is the one outstanding monument on the site (Plate 4). The central building is rectangular and measures over 19 metres from east to west, and rather less from north to south ; at the east end there is a prolongation about eight metres long running the whole width of the building, but not bonded with it ; there are other extensions against the north and west walls. The walls are about two metres thick and still in places stand more than five-and-a-half metres high ; they are built of black basalt relieved here and there with blocks of white limestone. The stones are undressed, but they are laid in regular courses about 50 cms. high ; some stones are very large ; there is a limestone block near the N.E. corner which measures M 3·95 long, a basalt block high up in the S.E. corner which is M 3·58 by 1·00 by ·60, and several between two and three metres long. The middle building is filled with fallen stones, and there is a high talus of fallen blocks round the outer walls at all but one or two spots. It would be impossible therefore to make an accurate plan without a formidable clearance, which would be the more difficult now because there is the grave of a respected Sheikh, named Khuleif ibn Khalaf, at the south-east corner of the Kasr, beside a number of recent burials within the walls. Fortunately, however, the rough sketch plan by Mr. Head, which is published in the *Revue Biblique* (Vol. 41, page 421) gives an adequate idea of the main features. (The practice of burying the dead in ancient ruins is very common all over the Near East ; in Trans-jordan it is forbidden by the Antiquities Ordinance, but the custom still goes on and it does, in fact, give some protection to the ancient buildings, though it interferes with their study.)

A clearance was made in the middle of the East prolongation of this building, and a doorway with a rough threshold was discovered ; the opening was M 1·70 across and the walls on either side varied from 1·60–1·85 in width (Plate 5). The walls on either side were constructed in the same way as the walls of the main building, partly of very large blocks of basalt or limestone and partly of much smaller material, laid apparently in mud mortar ; a very long limestone slab, which may have served as a lintel, lay behind the doorway. A small hole was dug against the outer face of the north wall of the gate, and fragments of Roman blown glass and Nabatean pottery were found a few cms. below the ground level ; under and between the rough stones of the threshold some late sherds of the same period were also collected. This part of the building at least was, therefore, built or repaired about the 1st century A.D., and it is possible that the main building was also constructed at the same time ; there is no difference between the masonry and build of the two sections, but these are largely determined by the nature of the materials to hand, which were the same at all periods. In the east wall of the main building, opposite to the doorway we cleared, there appears to have been an opening on a higher level approached therefore either by steps or by a ramp, but the proximity of graves and the size of the fallen masonry prevented us from clearing it completely.

The third sounding was made on the north side of the north addition to the Kasr at the spot where the stele was found. The walls, about 80 cms. thick, of a rectangular room, M 4·9 from north to south and 2·85 from east to west, were found within a few cms. of the surface ; these walls were built upon the rock, at this point a soft friable limestone, which was reached about M 2·15 below the surface. There was a small door only 45 cms. wide and 75 cms. high in the north wall of this room, and a second one in the N.W. corner 85 cms. wide and 120 high. Under the floor there was a cavern which was partly built and partly excavated in the rock. In the N.E. corner of the room we found the fragments of three enormous *pithoi* which had evidently been standing against the wall, and about a metre above the floor level was a broken stratum of lime which presumably came from a collapsed roof ; the filling above and below this, which was very different in character from the filling in the wall trench, consisted of fine blown dust from the town buildings ; the potsherds scattered about in the lower stratum are like those from the top stratum of the town wall and not earlier therefore than the Middle Iron Period. The stele had been found head downwards in the upper debris in this room, and it is obvious that it had fallen there after the room, which may have been only a cellar, had been ruined and abandoned.

Fragments from one of the *pithoi* were brought back to Jerusalem and have been reconstructed with great skill by the Museum officials (see Pl. 3). The ware is gray drab in colour and rather gritty, and the surface is covered with a pale drab slip of the same clay. It stands M 1·1 high and the greatest circumference measures M 1·84 ; it was made on the wheel apparently in three sections, the joint between the two upper sections is shown by a faint groove on the line of the upper attachment of the handles, that between the two lower sections by a sort of waist in the body of the pot. The handles were simply clamped on to the wall of the pot after the sections had been joined. The ring round the neck was moulded separately and there is a sharp groove between it and the neck. The rounded knob base is hollowed on the inside. There are faint traces of flattened ribbings between the handles and elsewhere on the walls of the pot. The date of the *pithos* would give the *terminus ante quem* for the room in which it stood. Unfortunately it has proved impossible to reach agreement yet about the date of the *pithos*, as it comes from a remote district about which little is known, and the shape is quite new to all the experts I have consulted ; the first estimates of its date varied from the Early Iron Age to the Persian-Hellenistic period, which was the date originally favoured by the writer.

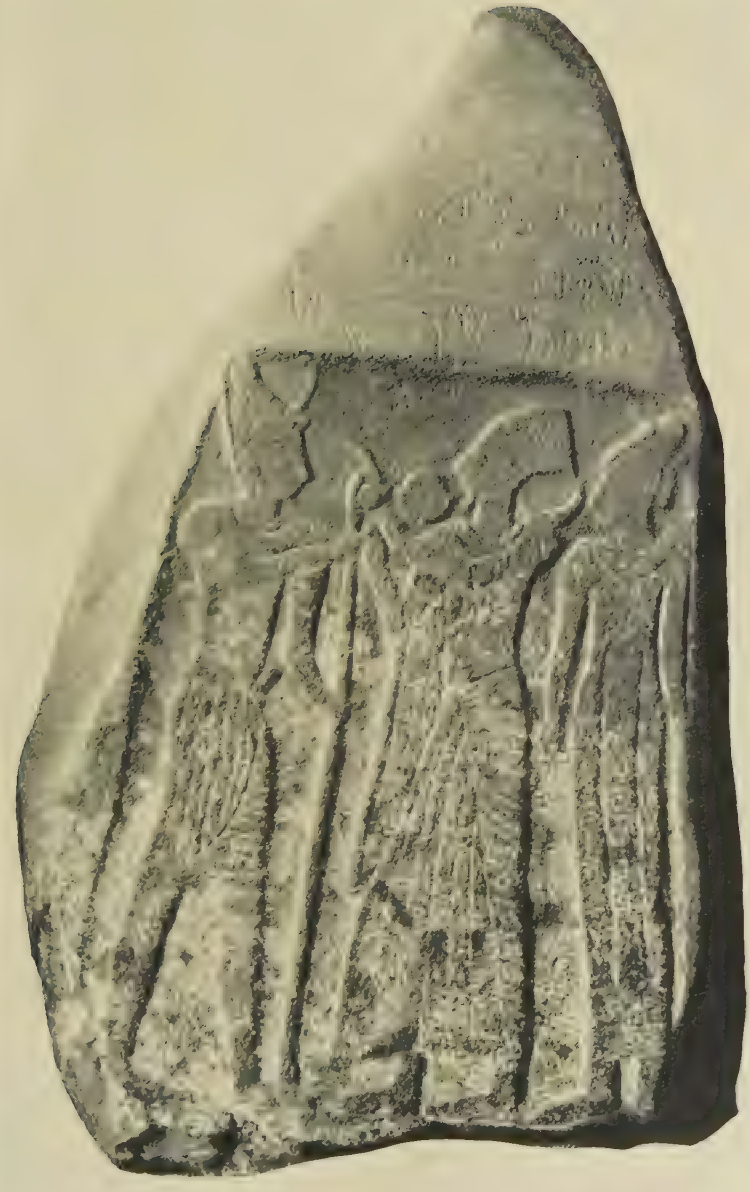
The trench in which this room was found was extended south through the talus of debris against the north wall of the Kasr, which is only M 3·9 from the south wall of the room. Two or three recent burials were disturbed here, and the line of a second wall was found between the room and the Kasr, possibly the wall of a predecessor of the Kasr. In the Kasr itself we found that the joints between the stones in the lower courses were covered with a thin skin of poor lime, and it seems probable that a similarly faced mortar has been weathered away in the exposed upper courses ; this may be regarded as another indication of the late date of the Kasr. A single course of large stones lay immediately in front of the bottom course of the Kasr, the filling presumably of the foundation trench which was cut when the Kasr was built. No potsherds came to light at this point, but the large overhanging stones on both sides were a great obstacle and the trench was narrowed too much to yield satisfactory results.

No evidence was found as to the original position of the stele, and it is quite possible that it had been re-used as mere building material in one of the upper courses of the later Kasr and had simply fallen down into the place where it was found.

In a land where springs are few and far between, a place like Balu'ah, with a permanent supply of water, would be occupied whenever the general conditions of the country encouraged settled life, and the fact that it has lain unoccupied for so many centuries shows how low civilisation has sunk in these parts. The potsherds collected on the surface by Dr. Glueck prove that it was occupied earlier than 2000 B.C., but the first other remains which have survived belong to the Early Iron Age, about 1200 B.C. M. Drioton has given convincing reasons for assigning the beginning of the 12th century as the earliest possible date for the stele, and the Early Iron Age is indicated as the period of the city wall by the potsherds discovered in our soundings. Dr. Glueck has collected similar evidence about this period from many other sites in Moab and his evidence agrees with the Biblical record which represents Moab as a settled country when the Israelites tried to pass through it. This relative prosperity continued in Trans-jordan for the next three or four centuries at least, as is shown by the Moabite stone from Dhiban and the proto-Ionic capital found by Glueck at Medeibic (l.c.s., page 13). The Altic and Rhodian sherds above mentioned, perhaps the *pithoi* also, are evidence of the continued occupation of our site in the Persian and Hellenistic periods when the Tobiads played a prominent part in Trans-jordan (Gressmann in *Sitzungber: der preuss:* Akad: der Wisser: 39, 1921, p. 663f, and Vincent in R. B. 29, 1920, p. 182-202). The extensions to the Kasr on the east and south sides, possibly the central part as well, appear to date from a revival of prosperity in the time of the Nabatean Kingdom. The size of the blocks used in parts of the building shows that the builders were possessed of considerable engineering powers; on the other hand, the absence of cut stone is in curious contrast with the elaborate carvings on early Nabatean buildings at Petra and in the Hauran. The ruined houses that now cover the greater part of the site may be still later, as there is a very considerable quantity of early painted Arab ware about.

Balu‘ah has therefore had a long history. At times it has been a place of some importance, but if we may judge from the complete absence of cut stones now on the site and from the small amount of accumulated debris, it never reached the same level as some other sites in Trans-jordan, both early and late.

As a site for future excavations Balu‘ah does not appear to the writer to be attractive. It has a good water supply, and the labourers we recruited from Ismakiyah and from the tents on Jebel Sheihan were tolerably efficient ; the rains last year were heavy, and the men were consequently in good condition and they worked fairly well. But there is little else to be said in its favour. The place is so remote that transport is extremely expensive, and, what is still more serious, the prospects of important finds are not obviously promising ; in spite of an extensive late occupation there does not seem to be much accumulation below the superficial remains. Here, as is so often the case on stony sites, the same blocks were probably used over and over again, each generation making a clean sweep of the earlier buildings. The recent re-occupation of some places in Trans-Jordan, Madaba and Ader, for example, has been calamitous to ancient remains, but if Balu‘ah were also re-settled it may be questioned whether much of any interest would be lost.



The Stele from Balu‘ah. (By permission of Mr. Horsfield.)

Fig. 1.

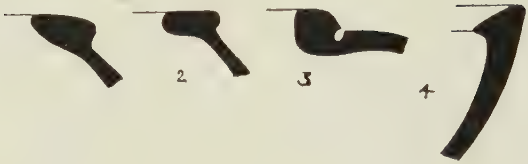
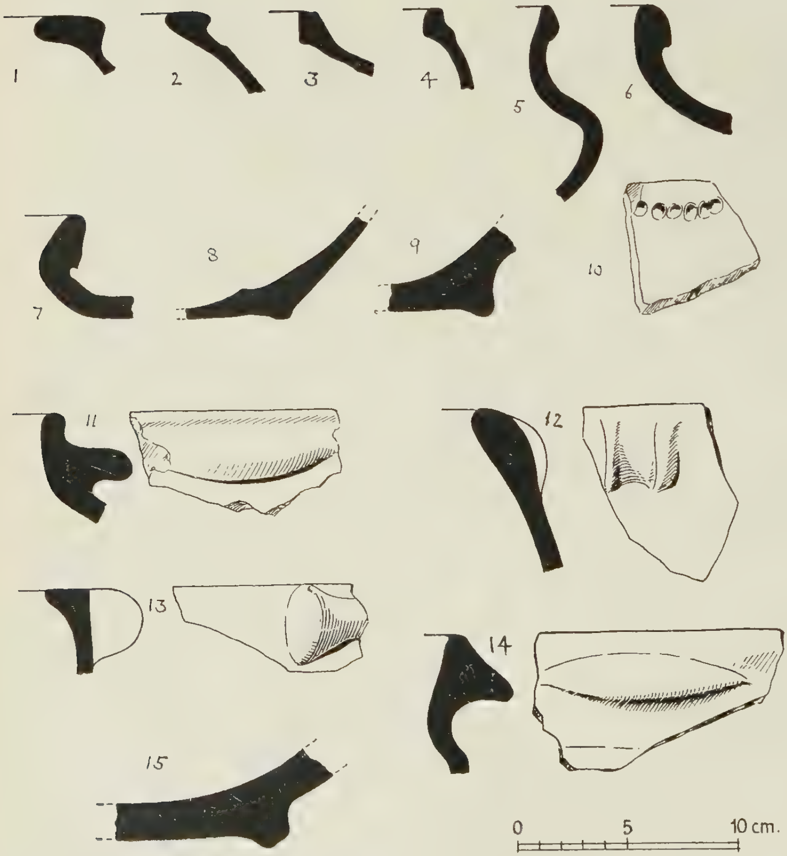


Fig. 2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Potsherds from Balū‘ah.

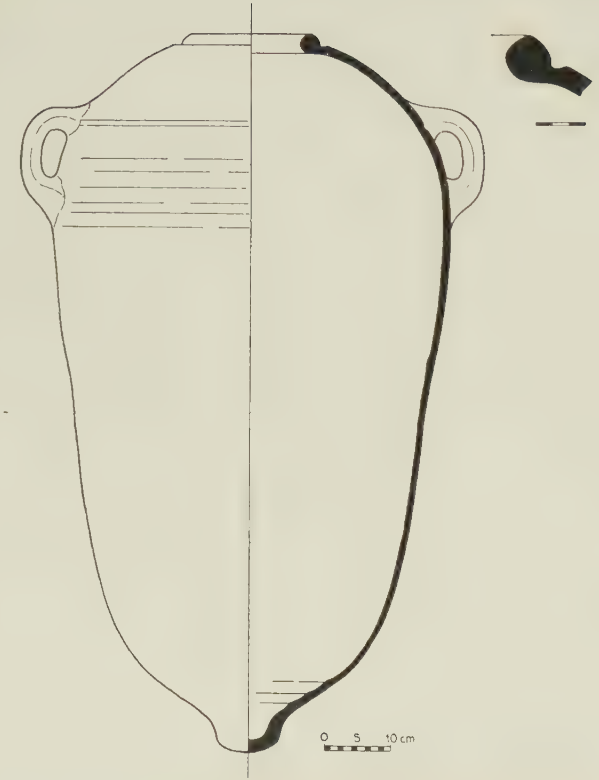


Fig. 1.—The Pithos with detail of Rim.

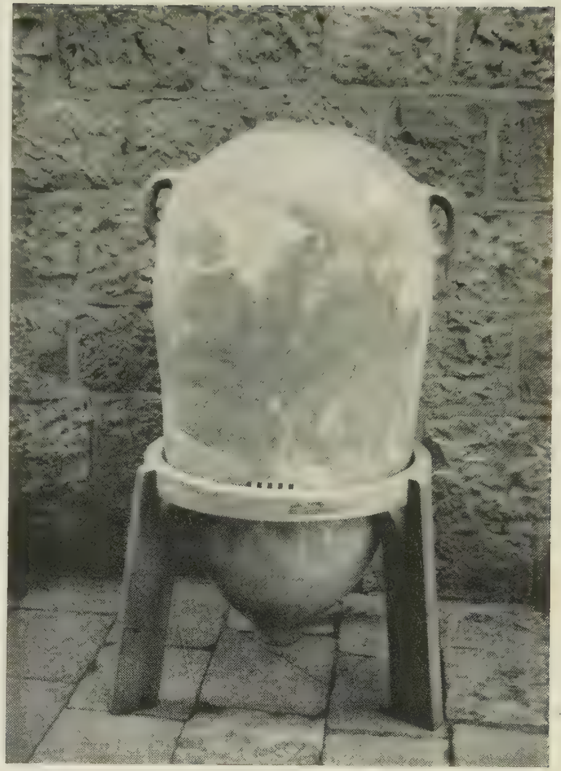


Fig. 2.—The Pithos.

EXCAVATIONS AT THE WADY AL-MUGHARA, 1932-3.

By D. A. E. Garrod.

Work at the Wady al-Mughara is now concentrated on the last cave of the group, the Tabūn (Oven) which lies at a higher level in the same stretch of cliffs as the Mugharet el-Wad.

Excavations were carried out in two seasons, October-December, 1932, and April-July, 1933. In the Autumn I had as my assistants Miss E. Kitson, Miss J. J. Hopkins (Mrs. Christopher Hawkes) and Miss E. Dyott, all of the British School of Archæology. In the spring I had Miss R. Sears and Miss A. H. Fuller of the American School of Prehistoric Research, and Miss Dyott.

As in former years, work was carried out in collaboration with the American School of Prehistoric Research.

Before excavation the Tabūn appeared to be quite small, and I thought it might be possible to finish it in one season. It has turned out, however, to be the largest cave of the group, with a very great thickness of deposit.

Layer A (av. thickness 1m.) was uninteresting, containing much less material than Layer A in the Mugharet el-Wad. The sherds range from Early Bronze to modern Arab, and a small number of Natufian flints were found. This site was not inhabited in Upper Palæolithic times, and immediately below A we got the Upper Mousterian in Layer Tabūn B (av. thickness 3.50m.). This differs considerably from the Upper Mousterian of Europe. It is definitely in the Levallois tradition, with numbers of small triangular and oval Levallois flakes. The points and scrapers have a very beautiful flat retouch, and resolved flaking is rare. Gravers occur in small numbers, and some of these are indistinguishable from Aurignacian forms. The animal remains in this layer consist almost entirely of two species of deer; *Dama Mesopotamica*, which is very abundant, and a species of red deer, and this fauna points to forest conditions, with a considerable rainfall.

Layer Tabūn C (av. thickness 1·70 m.) I have placed in the Lower Mousterian, because I believe it to date from the latter part of the Riss-Würm interglacial. We are still in the Levallois tradition, and the most typical and abundant form is the oval Levallois flake, often of very large size. Triangular flakes are very rare, and in relation with this is the fact that points are much less abundant than scrapers. A small number of gravers was found and some of these are indistinguishable from Aurignacian specimens.

The fauna of Tabūn C is very abundant, and points to warm swampy conditions, with a heavy rainfall. Miss Bate has identified rhinoceros (allied to *Rhinoceros hemitœchus*), hippopotamus, crocodile and a very large fresh-water tortoise.

A nearly complete human skeleton was found in the upper part of the layer, and 90 cm. below it, at the base, was a well-preserved lower jaw. The skeleton is of a type closely related to the Neandertal, but with certain well-marked peculiarities. It belongs to a small person, almost certainly a woman, and has a low cranial capacity. The frontal torus is very massive, and the mandible is shallow and receding, with no trace of a chin. The mandible found at the base of the layer, on the other hand, is deep and has a well-developed chin, and at first sight presents a striking contrast to the other. Sir Arthur Keith, however, having regard to the characters of the teeth and other details, considers that the two represent extreme variations of the same race.

The layer underlying C—Tabūn D (av. thickness 2·30 m.), contains an industry of Levallois tradition, which is not unlike that of Tabūn B. The triangular flake is much more abundant than in C, and in consequence there is no marked disproportion in the number of points and scrapers ; at the same time, the broad flake is much smaller than in C. A fair number of points have retouch on the bulbar face, and some of these approximate to the Bamabata and Still Bay types.

The fauna of D is much less abundant than that of C, but it seems to point to similar conditions, both rhinoceros and hippopotamus being present. At the same time the other species present are very varied, and seem to call for a varied topography. Miss Bate suggests that there must have been permanent rivers of some size, with the low country consisting of open grassy plains and bordered by wooded hills ; a great contrast with the Palestinian landscape of to-day.

The three layers I have just described, Tabūn B, C and D., although they undoubtedly cover a long period of time, contain flint industries that are fundamentally alike ; all belong to the Levallois tradition, and they differ from each other mainly in such matters as the size of the implements, and the relative abundance or scarcity of certain types. With the transition from D to E comes a complete change. In the place of scrapers on flat flakes with prepared striking platform, we get a very large number of thick scrapers with resolved flaking, the majority made on flakes with plain striking-platform, in some cases of definite Clactonian type. There is a great variety of shapes ; pointed, elliptical, fan-shaped, triangular, etc. Associated with these are hand-axes, the majority pear-shaped and often rather rough. Hand-axes are not unknown in Tabūn B, C and D, but they are extremely rare, and in some cases have the appearance of being derived from other levels ; in Tabun E, on the other hand, the proportion of hand-axes to scrapers is about 10 per cent.

Layer E is very thick (5m.) and has therefore been subdivided into Ea, Eb, Ec and Ed, but the differences between these layers are in most cases not very marked. On the whole Ea contains the largest and best-made implements, Ed the smallest and least well-made, but the transition is gradual. Ec, however, is marked out from the other divisions by the character of its hand-axes. In Ea, Eb, and Ed, the hand axes are generally pear-shaped and on the whole rather roughly made ; in Ec we get hand-axes of true Micoquian type, broad at the base with fine tapering points, often excessively sharp.

I have named the industry of Layer Tabūn E Acheuleo-Mousterian though I am not entirely satisfied with this label. The flake-industry is certainly Mousterian of a kind ; it is reminiscent of High Lodge, though probably later in time, and must lie somewhere in the line which leads from the true Clactonian to the Mousterian of the French caves. The hand-axes are generally rougher than those of the true Acheulean, and the majority have undoubtedly been made with a stone hammer, but the presence of a characteristic Micoquian horizon is a definite link with the final stages of the Acheulean, and I see no reason to suppose that it is not roughly contemporary with the Micoquian of Europe. The Acheuleo-

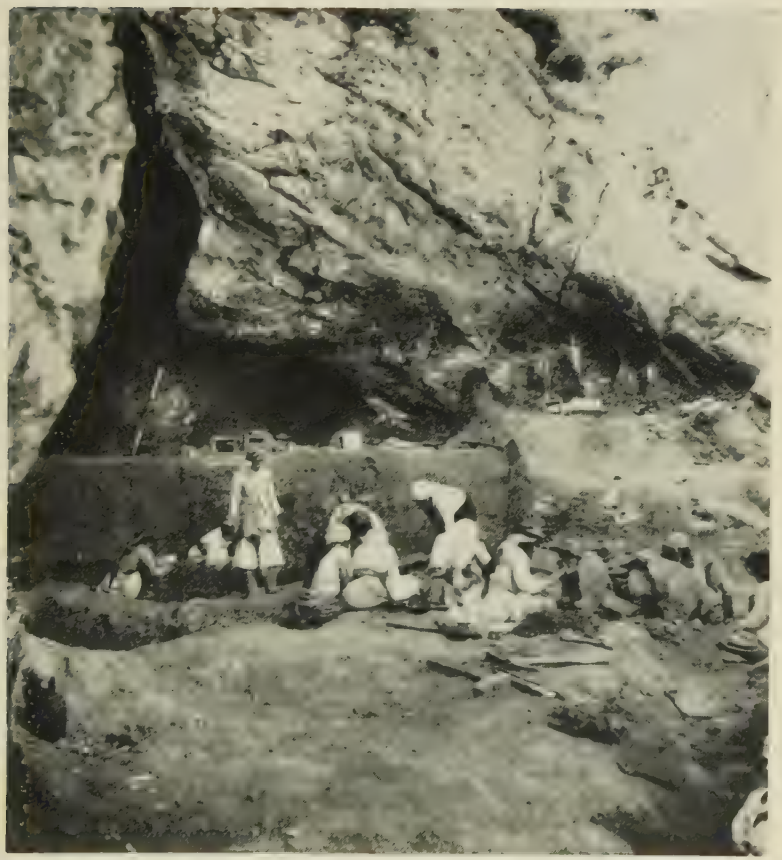
Mousterian of the Tabūn must, I think, be added to that group of industries rather unsatisfactorily labelled pre-Mousterian which appear in the course of the Riss-Würm interglacial (for instance, Ehringsdorf, Krapina, Grimaldi) and which are more or less ancestral to the typical Mousterian of the first Würmian maximum.

A very interesting feature of Tabūn Eb is the presence of a group of implements of Upper Palæolithic type. These include Chatelperron points, end-scrapers and gravers, and a whole series of narrow blades with nibbling retouch of the edges. There can be no doubt that these implements are perfectly in place; the great thickness of the overlying deposits rules out any possibility of their being a later intrusion. The whole technique of their manufacture is in marked contrast to that of the typical implements of this layer, and I consider them to be due to contact with a very early Aurignacian rather than a development *in situ* of the Acheuleo-Mousterian industry. Dr. Leakey has found Acheulean tools associated with a primitive form of Aurignacian in East Africa in a deposit older than that of the Tabūn, and there seems to be no doubt that the origins of the Upper Paleolithic must be sought a very long way back.

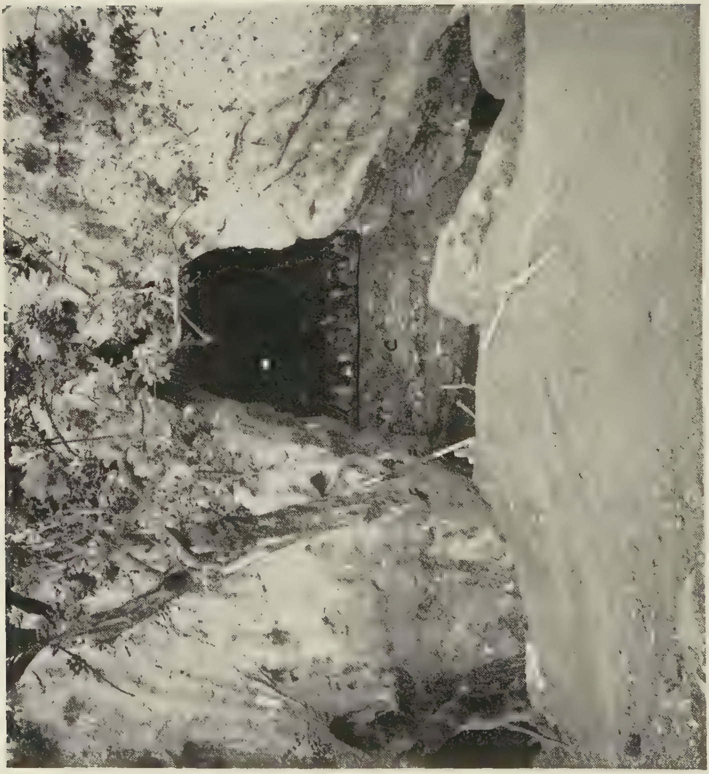
Part of the shaft of a human femur was found in Tabūn Ea, It does not give us much information about the individual to whom it belonged, but as far as can be judged it is of Neandertal rather than of modern type.

The fauna of E is less abundant than that of the upper layers and the remains collected cover only Ea and Eb. The reason for this is that the deep levels have only been reached in a trench which does not extend to the walls of the cave, and has therefore, missed the area close to the rock where bone is usually best preserved. When the trench is extended next season I hope to add considerably to the fauna of the deep layers. Up to the present the great majority of remains belong to fallow deer, though ox and gazelle are also represented. No rhinoceros or hippopotamus has been found. This fauna suggests a wooded habitat, but Miss Bate reserves her opinion, as the collection of bones is small.

The industry of Layer F (av. thickness 1.90 m.) I consider to be true Upper Acheulean. The hand-axe predominates all through, and towards the bottom, scrapers and points become more and more uncommon. The hand-axes are on the whole better made than



M. Tabūn.—Work in the Lower Mousterian Layer.



M. Tabūn.—General View of Cave.

those of E, and there are one or two true ovates, though the pear shape still predominates. The true La Micoque type is very rare.

No fauna has yet been found in F, but, as in the case of Ec and Ed, I hope this may be remedied next season.

Underlying F is our oldest layer, Tabūn G (av. thickness 2 m.) which rests immediately on the bedrock. This contains an industry of miserable appearance, almost entirely composed of small utilised flakes, the majority with plain striking-platform. There are no hand-axes, and very few of the flakes show secondary working. This industry is closely comparable with that found by Peyrony in the middle layers of La Micoque, well below the level of the Micoquian hand-axes. Breuil considers this industry to be derived from the Clactonian, and has named it Tayacian. He places Tayacian I at the end of the Mindel-Riss interglacial and Tayacian II at the beginning of the Riss-Würm. Tabūn G appears to correspond to Tayacian II, and its position in the sequence at the Tabūn agrees with the La Micoque section, as well as with that of Castillo, where a Tayacian layer occurs below the bed containing Acheulean hand-axes.

I hope to complete work in the Tabūn during the coming season. It will not be practicable to excavate the whole site, but our aim will be to explore the oldest layers over a wider area than has so far been possible.

I have to thank the following, who, by their generosity, have made it possible to carry on work during a difficult period ; the Royal Society, the Percy Sladen Memorial Fund, the Caird Fund, the Wörts Fund and a number of private donors.

ANOTHER SUMERIAN SEAL IMPRESSION FROM MEGIDDO.

Robert M. Engberg and Geoffrey M. Shipton.
(*The Oriental Institute.*)

The lower eastern slope of Megiddo was recently excavated to provide an enlarged area for earth from the top of the hill. In the course of this work a section of about 500 square meters was found to be composed of strata which could be dated from close to the beginning of the XIIth Dynasty to somewhere back of Petrie's Sequence Date (type level) 63.[1] The deposit was made up of houses and floor levels for the most part, and was divided finally into seven strata for purposes of classification. The uppermost, Stage I, was closely related to Tell Beit Mirsim J[2], while Stage VII, on ceramic analogies with Egypt, Syria (Byblos), Rhodes, Crete, and Malta, seemed impossible of inception after Sequence Date 63 or after the Mediterranean Neolithic Period. To the lower part of the Megiddo sequence the conventional term *Chalcolithic* was given, while to the upper part, Stage IV being common to both, was applied the equally inadequate name *Early Bronze.* Copper was the practical metal used during the EB Period not only at Megiddo, but throughout Palestine in large part.

One more datable horizon presented itself when three animal cylinder seal impressions were found in Stage V[3]. A comparison of these with stratigraphically placed seals from Mesopotamia indicated strongly that the time to be considered was the early part of the Early Dynastic Period, that is, the first century or so of the third millennium. On artistic grounds the territory of origin seemed to lie in eastern Sumer and the western border of the Persian Highland, regions which can be regarded as closely connected culturally during this period.

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[1] See *Studies in Ancient Oriental Civilization* (*S.A.O.C.*), No. 10, The Oriental Institute of the University of Chicago, for the details of this early material.

[2] Albright, *Annual of the American Schools of Oriental Research,* XII, Pls. 1 and 2, and XIII, Pls. 1, 19 and 20.

[3] *S.A.O.C.*, No. 10, Figs. 10 and 11, and Chapter V.

Since the publication of the early Megiddo material we have discovered another animal cylinder seal impression from Stage V (Pl. IV F). To our chagrin it was found on the very vessel which we had used to illustrate our pottery type 16 G[4], but because of a heavy lime accretion it had passed unnoticed. In due course, favourable light conditions revealed a corner of one rolling, and careful brushing of the entire vessel showed that one more had been made before firing. One was placed horizontally on the shoulder, and the other vertically from near the neck to about the middle of the vessel. The dimensions of seal F were: Diameter, 13 mm.; height, 23 mm. The ratio of these measurements is thus almost identical with those of the other seals whose impressions we have found.

We illustrate again the seal impression B, since both it and the new rollings fall into the general classification of inverted figures. Impression F does not follow the legitimate *tête bêche* arrangement which represents a single file of figures with the alternating ones inverted as in impression B. A more appropriate classificatory term might be *dos-à-dos horizontal,* but seals of this type would be considered as typologically related to the true *tête bêche* variety, and we therefore treat them as variants of one form of artistic approach at the same time recognising the distinct differences involved. Accordingly, our previously noted stratified analogies from Khafage and Fara[5], which include both variants, will not be adduced again, other than to repeat that this class of impressions is of the utmost importance in the designation of the early part of the Early Dynastic Period as the historic level indicated by Stage V. Père Vincent has suggested other parallels from the anomalous *époque archäïque* which, although on stamp seals, are closely analogous in style and arrangement[6]. With the appearance of this last impression from Stage V we may consider it as all the more certain that the seals themselves were contemporaries of the pottery on which they were used.

In comparing the two seal impressions here illustrated we observe that aside from the inverted treatment, there are two points in common which may prove to constitute more or less rigid elements in arrangement and cutting in this type of seal. The first is the abstract space-filling quality possessed by both. In B, wherein is shown the far greater degree of artistry, the tails and heads are blended into one another for the sole purpose of creating a decorative unity which would flow on as an unending frieze. The purpose is beautifully accomplished and emphasises the abstract conception which defies a clear cut identification of the figures. The seal impression F possesses the same characteristics to a marked degree. Again the extremities of the animals complement one another, making each pair an inseparable decorative unit.

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[4] *ibid.*, Fig. 4 and chart.

[5] *ibid.*, Fig. 12 C and Chapter V.

[6] Pézard, *Recherches Archéologique* in *Mémoires de la Délégation en Perse,* Vol. XII, Fig. 68, p. 97; and Pézard, *Recueil des Travaux Egyptiennes et Assyriennes,* 1910, Vol. XXXII, Pl. V, No. 6, and p. 206.

The other point of agreement is seen in the angular cutting which leaves the edges sharply defined. The cutting edges have not been rounded, and therefore differ from the flat relief of A and C as well as from the Jericho seal impression which must be classed with C[7].

Certain distinctions, however, must be made between B and F, for it is clear that they are not strictly analogous, although belonging to the same school. The cutter of the F seal was greatly concerned with a vertical homogeneity, due to his having selected a two-tiered pattern, and one admits that in this respect he succeeded very well. But his frieze effect is weak when compared with B, because the rhythm is interrupted. The necessity of making a bond was certainly felt by the artist, but his success lies more definitely in the vertical than in the horizontal plane. Possibly B presents a superior continuity because there were no vertical problems to be considered.

But the principal difference lies in the stressing of straight lines and angles in F. Because of the limitations thus imposed, the easy grace of B was not to be expected. The stylization is severe in its linear simplicity. There are only stumps for feet, and the legs have no joints. The body is carried by legs which are arbitrarily placed. The tails, too, appear clumsy and suggest that a more fluid design might have been accomplished had one of the animals been reversed. The one animal length to the circumference of the seal is, of course,

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[7] Sellin and Watzinger, *Jericho*, Fig. 66, p. 97; *S.A.O.C.*, No. 10, Figs. 10 and 11.

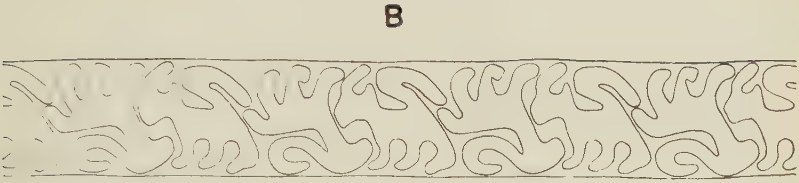

Fig. 1.—Drawing of Impression from S.A.O.C. No. 10, Fig. 4.

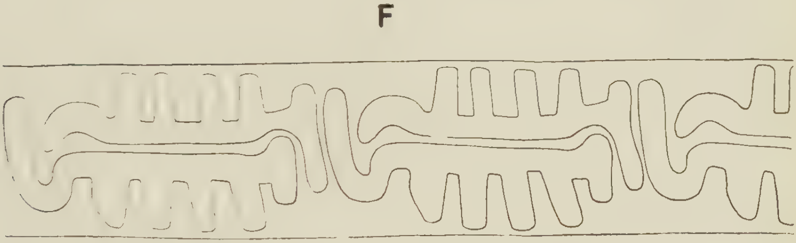

Fig. 2.—Drawing of Seal Impression.

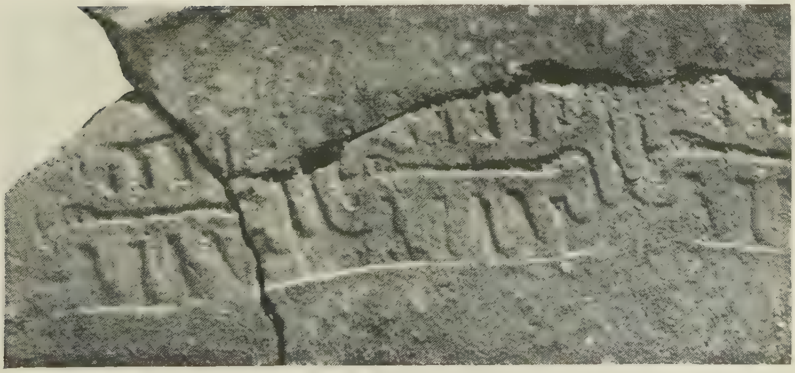

Fig. 3.—Sumerian Seal Impression from Megiddo.

the cause of the disproportionate body lengths, but it must be borne in mind that we are dealing with an abstract type of art which was not necessarily concerned with fidelity to nature.

An attempt has been made to analyse impression F for any value it may have on the future discovery of seals and impressions. But its principal importance remains that, as an inverted figure variant, it occurred in the same stratum as the other Megiddo impressions. Thus it not only strengthens the probability that the seals themselves were contemporary with Stage V and therefore may be used to date it, but that an influence of more than accidental scope was making itself felt in Palestine in the early years of the third millennium. The source of this influence, as shown in all four animal impressions as well as in the Jericho example, lies in the area indicated by Asmar, Khafage, Fara, Assur, Susa, and Musyan, for it is out of the question that the seals were products of Palestine. Crudely scratched drawings on pottery found in Stages V and VI[8] clearly indicate the limits of Palestinian artistic possibilities in the Chalcolithic Period.

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[8] *S.A.O.C.*, No. 10, Fig. 10.

THE BETH-SHEMESH TABLET AND THE ORIGINS OF RAS-SHAMRA CULTURE.

By THEODOR H. GASTER.

THE discovery at Beth-Shemesh of a tablet written in Ras-Shamra script seems to lend a measure of support to the view throughout maintained by the present writer that the Semitic civilization of Ras-Shamra (Ugarit) was imported thither from the Negeb and the Sinai peninsula. The evidence for this view appears to be cumulative and conclusive, and it may be convenient here to summarize it.

1. The legends preserved on Ras-Shamra tablets deal with events located in the Negeb.

Thus, the Poem of Keret treats of a war in which Sidon and Edom, as well as Zebulun, participate, whilst the Myth of Shalem-S̲ha̲har (recently published by Virolleaud) is concerned with events transpiring in the Wilderness of Kadesh and around Ashdod. This last city, be it noted, is only some 18 miles away from Beth-Shemesh !

2. The cuneiform alphabet of Ras-Shamra has been shewn by Olmstead to be nothing but an adaptation to the exigencies of wedge-writing of that early Semitic script which first appears in the " scribblings " from Sinai and out of which were later evolved both the South-Semitic and Phoenician alphabets. This evidence, which the present writer hopes shortly to supplement, again points to the South.

3. The Pantheon of Ras-Shamra is full of markedly southern elements.

Thus, Shapash, *i.e.* Shamash, is a goddess, as in the South-Semitic systems, and not a god as elsewhere. The Katabanian deities H̲ol and H̲akum here recur, as does also the deity Yrk̲h̲ (Moon) comporting with Katabanian Yark̲h̲an and with the tribal name Yerak̲h̲ in Hadramut ; (*cf.* Glaser, Skizze ii. 425 ; Gen. x. 26). Similarly, we have mention of Yo—prototype of

Yahweh—who, according to Hebrew tradition "came from Sinai" (Deut. xxxiii, 2).

Gods of the type Laṯpan (Lord Pleasant) and Aleyan (Lord Mighty ?) bear names, or rather epithets, which derive from South-Semitic roots and which are formed with the characteristic South-Semitic nunation.

Attention may further be directed to such a name as Z̲bh̲-S̲h̲psh̲ (Sunrise), in which the first element is the well-known Arabic z̲bh̲, meaning "dawn."

4. Not only the Pantheon, but likewise the Cultus at Ras-Shamra is redolent of southern traits.

Thus, one of the commonest names for sacrifice is s̲⃛‘, harmonising entirely with the Minean th̲‘, a synonym of *dbh̲*. Again, we find a sacrifice called *kbd* (gift of homage) exactly corresponding to the technical Minean *kabudat*, and we also find *dbh̲ n‘mt* (sacrifice in return for favours received), which accords with the common formula *‘l n‘m* on Sinaitic votive inscriptions and with the Sabean expression *ldt n‘mt wtn‘mn ladmhw* (CIS. iv, 163 : 7; 181 : 6; 197 : 12, etc.).

We also encounter such terms as *ms̲⃛b* "sanctuary," *mz̲ll* "fane, covert," *hs̲r* "courtyard," and *as̲⃛r* "shrine," all of which recur as termini technici, in South Arabian texts.

Besides these, there are a number of expressions which accord completely with the cultic terminology of the Pentateuchal codes. These, however late their literary redaction, were constantly maintained by tradition to represent and formulate a religious system originally promulgated in the Negeb and in Sinai.

5. Already in a letter to *The Times* of January 19, 1933, the present writer observed that the language of the Ras-Shamra inscriptions so far published had closer affinities with the South-Semitic than with any other group.

In this connection special attention may be drawn to (*a*) the frequency of broken plurals of the type *émlk* "kings"; (*b*) the frequency of nunation in proper-names: *e.g.* Aleyan, Latpan, Ktmn (RS. 1929, xiv, 8), Ksln (ib. x, 3; *cf.* Numb. xxxiv, 21), Shtn (ib. x. 11) and Shrn; (*c*) the frequency of the construction whereby a masculine plural is construed with a verb in feminine singular to express concerted action; *e.g. sh̲mn sh̲mm tmṯrn*, "the skies shall rain down oil," *sharh ltekl 'zrm* "let birds all together devour his remnants"; (*d*) the frequency of paragogic nun in forming imperatives, after the style of the Arabic اُنْصُرَنَّ

Besides this, there is the evidence of vocabulary. The Ras-Shamra texts contain many words which can only be parallelled in South-Semitic: *e.g. mlh* "sharp" (of a sword)=Ethiopic *blh* *nphy* "expel"=Ar. *npy*; *hd'* "break in pieces"=Arabic *hd'*; *mt'* "remove"=Arabic and Sabean *mt'*; *ndy* "kindle"=Ethiopic *nd*, etc.

The above five lines of argument, mutually corroborative; seem unmistakably to point to the southern origin of Ras-Shamra's, Semitic culture, and seemingly throw a flood of light upon the discovery of a "Ras-Shamra" tablet at Beth-Shemesh.

We are presented, evidently, with a latter stage of that early civilisation which seems anciently to have flourished over the whole area from N. Sinai eastwards as far as Moab and the Arabah. Indeed, it is interesting to observe that in the Myth of hahar-Shalem the worshippers definitely refer to themselves as "*Arabim*" or "dwellers in the Arabah."

This ancient civilisation, which for convenience we may term "Muzrian" (since it covers the areas of ancient Muzri), later migrated northwards into Amurru. This accounts for the South-Semitic character of Amorite onomatology and word-structure as already pointed out by Hommel, Ranke, Pognon, Sayce and Kraeling. We may perhaps identify this northward migration with a general eruption which brought the "Arabian" dynasty of Khammurapih to Babylon and the Hyksos or "desert princes" into Egypt and Palestine.

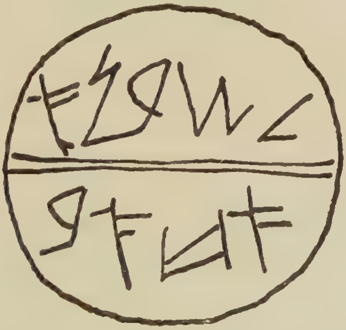
The bearing of this upon Old Testament studies, and the new vistas which are opened up by the consideration of the Ras-Shamra material in this light, are reserved for a future essay. Here we may perhaps not unfittingly conclude with the hope that the attention of the Fund will be directed towards more intensive excavation of the area around Ashdod and Ashkalon as far as Beth-Shemesh and Jerusalem. In this area, it is safe to prophesy, more Ras-Shamra documents will eventually turn up.

AN ISRAELITE SEAL FROM TELL DUWEIR.

By S. H. Hooke, M.A.

By the courtesy of the discoverer, Mr. J. L. Starkey, and Sir Charles Marston, we are able to give a description and illustration of an interesting inscribed seal found at Tell Duweir during the course of last season's excavations at that site, thought by the excavator to be the site of Lachish.

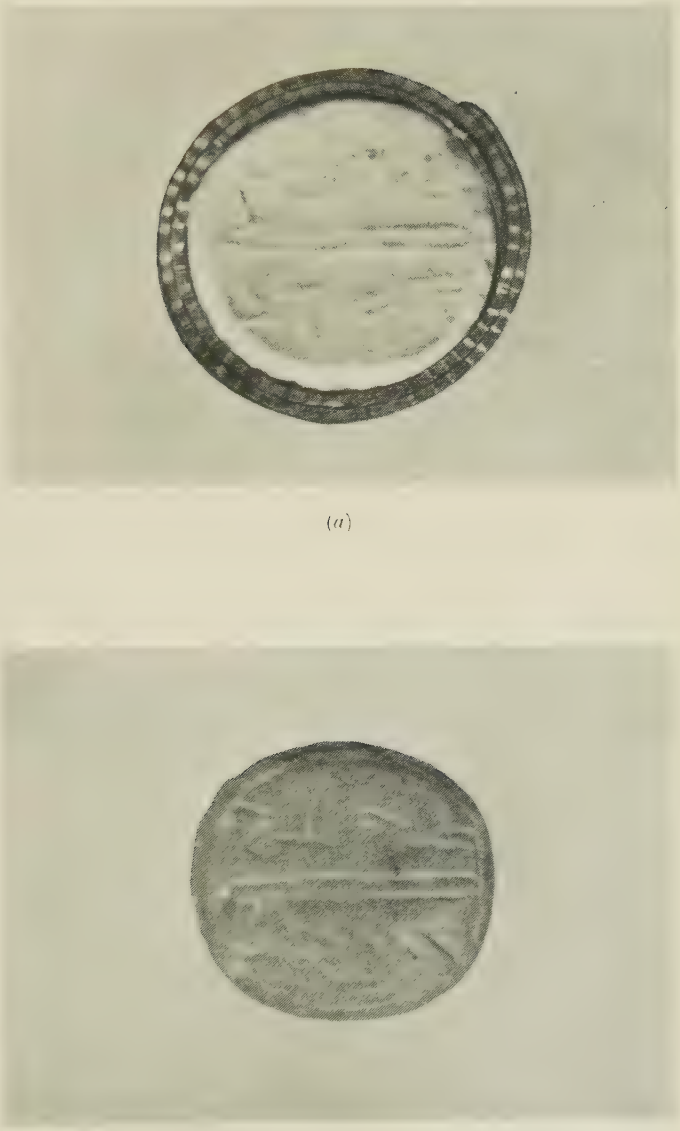
The seal is of pink limestone, of the ovoid button type, measuring 15 mm. by 13 mm. in length and breadth, and 5 mm. in depth. A double line across its long diameter divides it into two registers, each of which bears an inscription.



Tell Duweir Seal. Facsimile of Inscription.

The transcription of the upper register reads לשבנא, *lshbn'*, "(belonging) to Shebna", and the lower reads אחאב, *'h'b* "Ahab." The script is of the usual so-called Phœnician type current in Palestine between 8-600 B.C., and confirms the date assigned to the seal by the discoverer. As far as the present writer has been able to discover, this is the first occurrence of the name Ahab on an inscribed seal in Palestine. It is also unusual for the lower register to bear no attribution such as 'son of,' or 'servant of.'

The occurrence of theophorous forms of the name Shebna, such as Shebaniah, Shebaniahu, on Palestinian seals is not unusual, but the special interest of the present seal lies in the possibility of a link with the Shebna of Isaiah 22 and 2 Kings 18, 18, and 19, 2. At the time of the incident described in 2 Kings 18, Sennacherib was at Lachish, where Hezekiah's embassy, mentioned in 2 Kings 18, 14, found him. Shebna, as an important official of Hezekiah, might have accompanied the embassy. Hence the finding of this seal at Tell Duweir may furnish further confirmation of Mr. Starkey's view that Tell Duweir is the site of Lachish.



(*a*)

(*b*)

TELL DUWEIR SEAL: (*a*) SEAL IMPRESSION; (*b*) SEAL.

HAIFA HARBOUR.

Haifa, lying at the foot of Mount Carmel, eight miles from Acre across the bay and some fifty miles along the coast to the north of its competitor, Jaffa, is only twenty miles distant from the northern frontier of Palestine. It is a town of little historical importance and was always overshadowed by Acre. It is connected by rail with Jerusalem, Jaffa, Cairo and Damascus. Although the place has had no noteworthy history, there can be no doubt that its importance for the future of Palestine will be very great, for the recent completion of the harbour works gives the country what it has so long lacked, namely, a first class port, capable of accommodating the largest vessels, with ample facilities for the receipt and discharge of imports and exports, and for passenger traffic.

Some idea of the previous condition of things on the Mediterranean coast may be derived from the following extracts from the Report of the Department of Agriculture and Forests for 1927-30 :—"Some good small artificial harbours did exist at one time on this coast. Nearly all have completely gone ; those of Jaffa, Acre and Athlit, though still serviceable, are monuments of neglect." And again : "Neither at Haifa nor even Jaffa does there exist in the port such accommodation for fishing boats and fishermen as would encourage the outlay of capital."

The future importance of Haifa may perhaps justify the following brief details regarding its climate : we have extracted these from the recently published work by the Rev. Father F.-M. Abel, *Géographie de la Palestine.* The mean maximum temperature of Haifa is 38.5° C., that is, 101° F. ; and the mean minimum temperature is 3.5° C., that is, 38° F. The highest temperature hitherto registered is 104° F., and the lowest 29° F. The mean rainfall is 24 inches, or 610 mm. ; and the greatest annual rainfall hitherto measured was 44 inches, or 1,120 mm.

The Engineers for the Harbour Works at Haifa, Messrs. Rendel, Palmer and Tritton, of Westminster, have very kindly sent us an account of the Harbour with some details of the construction of the works. The following paragraphs are based on this account.

In 1922 Sir Frederick Palmer was commissioned by the Government to go to Palestine and report upon the construction of a harbour for Palestine, but it was not until 1927 that it was decided to adopt Sir Frederick's report and to construct a harbour at Haifa which should cost about a million pounds, Messrs. Rendel, Palmer and Tritton being appointed engineers for the works. As the result of a detailed survey of the coast at Haifa, including sea borings, and certain elaborations of the original plan, the estimate for the work was increased to £1,250,000.

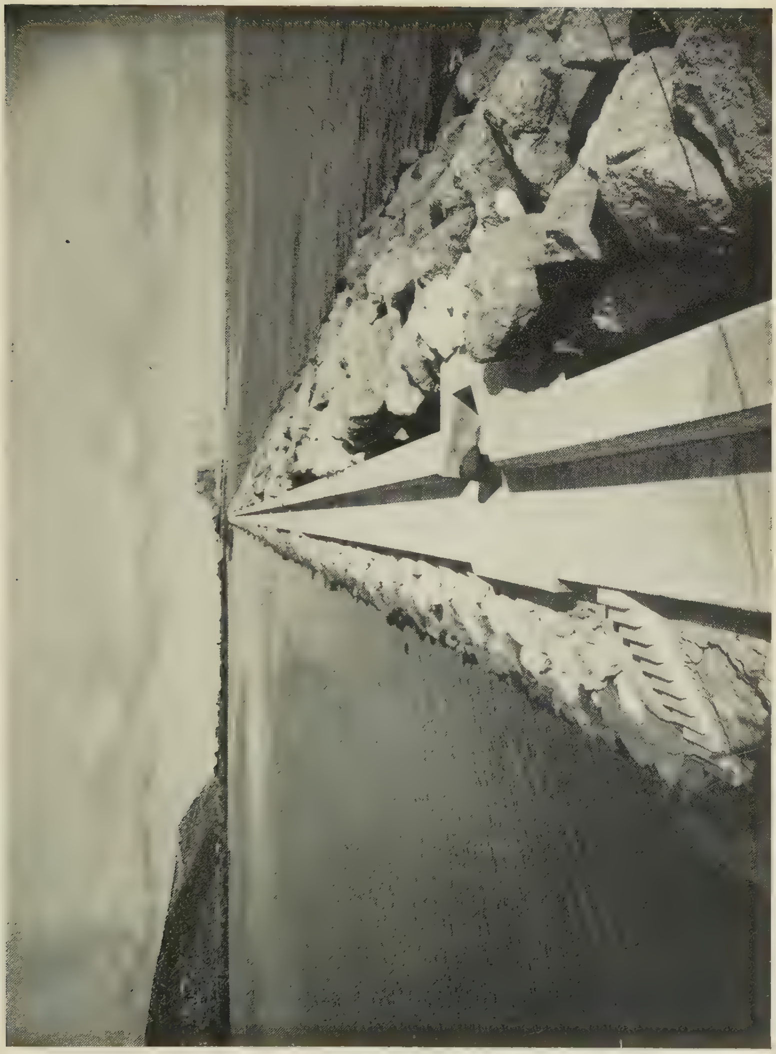
The work was commenced in 1929 and it was carried out by direct administration under the supervision of the engineers.

The roadstead in which vessels lay at anchor before the construction of the new harbour was well protected from the south and the south-west by Mount Carmel, the western extremity of which rises rapidly to a height of nearly 1,000 feet. On the Northern slope, which falls more gradually as it nears the bay, stands the town with its railway station and jetty.

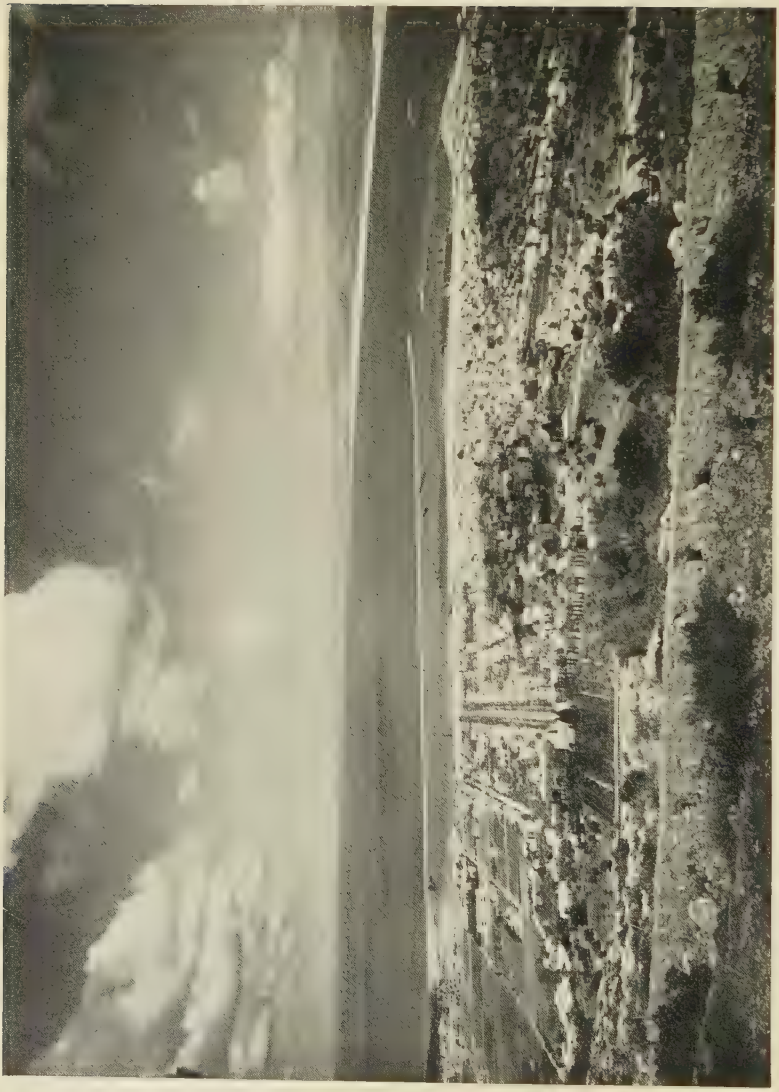
The main breakwater of the new harbour is about a mile and a half long, continuing the northern line of shore near the point Ras-el-Kerum, and running in an easterly direction roughly parallel with the town front. The cost of this breakwater was the largest item in the estimate. It is formed of natural blocks of quarried stone, graded according to size, the largest weighing some 12 to 15 tons, being placed on the seaward face. It contains more than a million cubic yards of stone and is surmounted by a concrete parapet, with bollards at intervals for end-on moorings for cargo steamers.

The other breakwater, known as the lee breakwater, is formed by prolonging the existing railway jetty, and is about half a mile long. It is of less massive section than the main breakwater.

On the shore side of the water enclosed by the breakwaters an area of land has been reclaimed, along the outer edge of which a wharf has been constructed for cargo steamers and lighters. A deep-water berth about 1,400 feet long, to accommodate three or four steamers has been provided, also a quay 800 feet long for lighters. Transit sheds have been built, and a site will be reserved for a maritime station, and this will, when built, in addition to



Haifa Harbour. Main Breakwater.



Haifa Harbour. General view from Mount Carmel.

serving local requirements, act as the terminal for the proposed Haifa-Baghdad Railway, should the latter be constructed. A considerable area of newly made land with necessary roads will be available for the expansion of the business quarter, and this will relieve the traffic in the congested streets and alleys of the Old City.

About 100 acres of the harbour are being dredged to 37 feet and the balance will be dredged to 31 feet or over. As a result of this the harbour can accommodate liners of about 30,000 tons, the largest calling at Haifa during the tourist season, which are thus able to disembark their passengers within the shelter of the breakwaters. In the dredging of the harbour more than two million cubic yards of material, mainly sand, have been removed, and have been used for reclaiming the area along the shore.

In view of the large quantities of natural stone used on the works, the quarries have formed one of the most important scenes of operations. They are situated on the sea-coast near Athlit, about ten miles south of Haifa. In the course of the quarrying operations some old cisterns, believed to be Byzantine, were discovered in a good state of preservation. Before they were demolished they were measured and photographed.

The old approach to the Crusaders' Castle at Athlit, which cut through the hillside between the north and south quarries, was not interfered with. The approach cutting, carrying the temporary railway tracks to the main breakwater, traversed the site of the ancient city of Sycaminum, but nothing of archæological interest was found. The ruins of the old Roman mole, now covered with sand, lie a little to the east of the root of this breakwater.

The Harbour was opened officially on the 31st October, 1933.

REVIEWS AND NOTICES.

Christian Myth and Ritual. An Historical Study. By the Rev. Professor E. O. James, D.D. John Murray, 1933, xv, 345 pp.

In this very significant and stimulating book, Professor James has pursued the theme of the volume *Myth and Ritual,* to which he was a valued contributor, into the wider and more controversial field of the historical development of Christianity. The book will, from the nature of its subject, undoubtedly rouse much violent disagreement, but no one will be able to read it without acquiring a broader view of the foundations and growth of religion in general, and particularly of the relation between form and spirit in religion.

The book begins with a discussion of the sacred character and magical function of kings in ancient society, a valuable and well-documented chapter. The author then passes on to consider the ritual of coronation, and shows the connection between early rites of royal and priestly investiture and early ordination rites. He passes on to deal with initiation ceremonies, altar rituals, the marriage rite, funerary and processional ritual, the Mystery Drama, Seasonal Games and Burlesques, and closes with a comprehensive chapter on the Christian Ritual Pattern. The book has great value as showing the continuity which underlies the whole history of religion, and demonstrating the power of a higher religion to build upon the foundation of earlier and persisting elements which it refines and spiritualizes. It brings out in a remarkable way the indestructible nature of the fundamental myth and ritual pattern underlying all religion.

The book is not only scholarly, as we expect from Professor James, but is extremely readable.

S. H. H.

Palestine—Its History, Peoples and Scenery. By Bishop Frederick De Land Leete. Pp. 251. Illustrations 15. London: Skeffington & Son, Ltd. 1933. 15s.

"In order to understand Palestine, one must view it with comprehension as well as with knowledge. It should be approached with the heart, and not merely in the flesh." This volume, with its somewhat over-ambitious title, is an attempt to carry out the above views. The writer has a considerable familiarity with the tourist routes, and gives much information in a popular and attractive form which a traveller through Palestine should know. The illustrations from photographs, taken by "the American Colony," Jerusalem, are good, though very familiar ones. Anyone visiting the Holy Land for the first time would do well to read such a volume as this on the journey out.

M.

A Practical Textbook of the Hebrew Language. By Menahem Naor. Divan Book and Art Shop, Jerusalem. 1933. 7s. 6d.

This work consists of a grammar and graduated reading-book, and will serve both as a class-book and for self-instruction. A key is provided. The plan and arrangement are simple and clear, and the student will be able to acquire from it a good working knowledge of Hebrew. It is a *practical* handbook, and serves to introduce the reader to both "Modern Hebrew" and the old language. Those of us who are more accustomed to Biblical Hebrew will notice that the effort is made to familiarise learners with the Hebrew grammatical terms in modern use, and that in such features as the order of words and the use of the tenses with the conjunction, Modern Hebrew, and not the classical language of the Old Testament, is inculcated. However much some of us may regret the departure from the grand idiom and style of the best parts of the Hebrew Bible, we must recognise that "Modern Hebrew" is in regular use among the Jews, and that there is room for such a grammar as this. It will eminently serve the purpose.

S. A. C.

TRANSLITERATION OF HEBREW AND ARABIC CONSONANTS.

HEBREW.

Hebrew.	English.	Hebrew.	English.
א	’	כ	ḵẖ
בּ	b	ל	l
ב	ḇẖ	מ	m
גּ	g	נ	n
ג	g̱ẖ	ס	s
דּ	d	ע	‘
ד	ḏẖ	פּ	p
ה	h	פ	f
ו	v, w	צ	ẕ
ז	z	ק	ḵ
ח	ẖ	ר	r
ט	ṯ	שׁ	s̱ẖ
י	y	שׂ	s̱
כּ	k	תּ	t
		ת	ṯẖ

ARABIC.

Arabic.	English.		Arabic.	English.
ا	’		ض	ḏ
ب	b		ط	ṯ
ت	t		ظ	ṯẕ
ث	ṯẖ		ع	‘
ج	g	or j in Syrian Arabic.	غ	g̱ẖ
ح	ẖ		ف	f
خ	ḵẖ		ق	ḵ
د	d		ك	k
ذ	ḏẖ		ل	l
ر	r		م	m
ز	z		ن	n
س	s		ه	h
ش	s̱ẖ		و	w
ص	ẕ		ي	y

Long vowels marked thus:—ā, ē, ī, ō, ū.

THE PALESTINE EXPLORATION FUND.

NOTES AND NEWS.

The Office and Rooms of the P.E.F. will be closed from Monday, 6th August, re-opening Monday, 10th September. Letters posted to the Office during that period will be forwarded.

The 69TH ANNUAL GENERAL MEETING of the Fund took place on Tuesday, June 26th, and was presided over by SIR GEORGE HILL, K.C.B., Director and Principal Librarian of the British Museum. A report of the proceedings appears on page 111.

The second campaign at Tell Duweir of the Wellcome Archæological Expedition to the Near East, directed by Mr. J. L. Starkey, has yielded some new inscriptional material which has created considerable stir among the epigraphists. It is an inscription upon fragments of a ewer whose connection Mr. Starkey has been able to restore. As restored the inscription appears as a semi-continuous single line, and not, as it seemed at first, an inscription of two lines. A glance at the inscription at once suggests a connection with the Sinai script discovered at Serabit el-Hadim, and fully discussed by Gardiner, Cowley, Sprengling and other scholars. Dr. Gardiner thinks that the discovery confirms his hypothesis that the Sinai documents provide the missing link between the Egyptian hieroglyphs and the Greco-Phœnician alphabet. Professor Langdon who has identified all the letters except two regards the language of the inscription as Canaanite. The restored ewer with the inscription will be on view in the rooms of the Palestine Exploration Fund from July 2 to 21, from 11 a.m. to 5 p.m. daily.

The results of the 1933-34 **Excavations at Tell Duweir** by the Wellcome Archæological Expedition to the Near East, will be on **Exhibition** in the rooms of the Palestine Exploration Fund from

July 2 to 21, from 11 a.m. to 5 p.m. daily. The exhibition will be open until 8 p.m. on the evenings of July 4, 12, and 20 for the convenience of those who cannot come during the day. Admission is free without ticket. It is hoped that many who are interested in Palestinian excavation will take the opportunity to see the very important finds from the site of ancient Lachish. A full report of the results of this year's work will be published in the Quarterly Statement for October.

To the account of the seal from Tell Duweir, given in the April issue of the Quarterly Statement, there should be added the facts that the seal was found in a rock-cut tomb of the three-chambered type, No. 106, referred to in Mr. Starkey's account of his last season's work on p. 194 of the October issue of the Q.S., 1933 ; also that the seal is pierced longitudinally.

An Exhibition of Recent Work of the Egypt Exploration Society will be held in the rooms of the P.E.F. from September 17 to October 13. Admission is free and it will be open daily between the hours of 11 a.m. and 5 p.m.

Professor Carl Watzinger's important work on Palestinian excavation, *Denkmäler Palästinas*, of which the first volume has already appeared, will shortly be completed by the publication of the second volume. Messrs. Hinrichs, the publishers, announce that they are willing to allow members of the P.E.F. to avail themselves of the subscription price (5/40Rm. instead of 7Rm.), if they send in their orders before the publication of the second volume. Orders may be sent to the Assistant Secretary, 2, Hinde Street, Manchester Square, W.1.

An event of considerable importance to those who are interested in the archæology of the ancient East is the appearance of the first number of a new half-yearly periodical with the title *Iraq*. It is published by the British School of Archæology in Iraq (Gertrude Bell Memorial). It is devoted to studies of the history, art, archæology, religion, social life, law, geography, and natural history of Iraq, and to a lesser degree of the neighbouring countries, Persia, Armenia, Anatolia, Syria and Arabia, from the earliest times down to about 1700 A.D. The editorial committee consists of A. Rhuvon Guest, Sidney Smith, and J. V. S. Wilkinson. The price is 18s. net.

The first number of this sumptuous periodical contains, among other interesting material, articles on *Gods and Myths on Sargonid Seals*, by H. Frankfort, on *An Egyptian Game in Assyria*, by C. J. Gadd, on *The God Ningizzida*, by E. Douglas Van Buren, and on *The Buildings on Quyunjik, the Larger Mound of Nineveh*, by R. Campbell Thompson. The letterpress, illustrations, and general appearance of the new periodical are admirable, and we offer hearty congratulations to the editors on the successful launching of the new venture, with sincere wishes for a long and prosperous career. We hope that it will find cordial support from all who are interested in the advancement of our knowledge of the ancient East.

Subscriptions should be sent to the British School of Archæology in Iraq, 20, Wilton Street, London, S.W.1.

The P.E.F. lecture season concluded on June 27th, when Mr. J. L. Starkey gave an interesting account of the Excavations at Tell Duweir, and showed excellent lantern views of the discoveries which had been made during the 1933-34 season. The substance of this lecture will form a paper by Mr. Starkey which will appear in the October *Quarterly Statement.*

The seven lectures of the series were well attended and appreciated and the Committee feel that good use is thus being made of the facilities afforded by having our own lecture room and equipment.

Voluntary Helpers.—The Committee acknowledge with grateful thanks the assistance rendered by Miss M. E. Russell in work connected with the library, and Miss Peel-Mears for the mending of broken pottery specimens.

Subscribers in the United States of America are advised that they may, if desired, remit their subscriptions to the National City Bank, 55, Wall Street, New York City. Instructions should accompany the payment that it be credited to Messrs. Coutts & Company, the Fund's bankers in London.

Map of the Middle East.—By John Bartholomew & Son, Ltd., Edinburgh. Mounted on Cloth, folded, 6s. net. On a scale of

1 : 4,000,000 (about 63 miles to an inch) this map, in one sheet measuring 24 inches long by 36 inches wide, extends from Istanbul on the west to the Turkmen Soviet Republic and part of Afghanistan on the east, and from Batum on the north to Muskat in the south, thus embracing Turkey, Cyprus, the greater part of Egypt, the Levant States, Palestine, Transjordan, Persia, Iraq, and part of Arabia. Colour tinting shows land below sea-level, and heights above sea-level up to 200, 500, 1,000, 1,500, 2,000, 3,000, 4,000 and 5,000 metres. Main Roads and Routes, Secondary Roads, Caravan Routes and Tracks are distinguished, Railways are marked, and the principal Airports are clearly shown. A novel feature of the map is that it shows the tracks followed by the oil pipes of the Anglo-Persian and the Iraq Petroleum Companies' lines.

This map is clearly printed and the orographical colouring is well done. It should be of special interest to P.E.F. Members. Copies of it can be obtained from the Office of the Fund, 2, Hinde Street, London, W.1.

Palestine Motor Map.—Scale approximating 8 miles to an inch. This handy little map, produced by the Palestine Government Survey Department, was reviewed in the January *Quarterly Statement*. It is full of useful information for travellers to the Holy Land, and may be obtained from the Office of the Fund, 2, Hinde Street, London, W.1. Price, 2s. 6d.

Palestine Administration Map.—We have to thank the Department of surveys for copies of this new map. On a scale of 1 : 250,000 (approximately ¼ inch to a mile), it is produced on one sheet measuring 39 by 23 inches. Compiled from the latest surveys, it is intended primarily as an outline on which to indicate the activities of the various Government Departments. It is contoured at 300 metre interval, and streams are in blue. The administrative boundaries of the Northern, Jerusalem, and Southern Areas are indicated by heavy red lines, these areas being sub-divided into eighteen districts from Acre and Safad in the north, to Gaza and Beersheba in the South. Administrative villages, principal Jewish Settlements, police posts, etc., are shown, with railway and road communications. It is well adapted to the use for which it is intended, and is a handy map of reference.

The Committee have to acknowledge with thanks the following :

The Antiquaries Journal, xiv, 2.

Journal of the Royal Anthropological Institute, July-Dec., 1933. The Cretan Labyrinth, by Prof. J. L. Myres.

The Scottish Geographical Magazine, 50, 3.

The American Journal of Philology, LV, 2. April-June, 1934.

Bulletin of the American Schools of Oriental Research, 54. An Assyrian Document of the 9th Century B.C. from Tell Billah, by E. A. Speiser. Archaeological News from Syria, by W. F. Albright.

Bulletin of the Metropolitan Museum of Art, New York, March-May, 1934.

Geographical Review, April, 1934.

Homiletic Review, Mar.-June, 1934.

Jewish Quarterly Review, xxiv, 4, April, 1934. Review of A. T. Olmstead, The History of Palestine and Syria, by W. F. Albright. Review of H. Junker, Die Völker des Antiken Orients, and L. Delaporte, Die Babylonier, Assyrer, Perser und Phoniker, by E. A. Speiser.

Journal of the American Oriental Society, 54, I. Mar., 1934. An Aramaic Inscription from the Jauf, by C. C. Torrey. Ras Shamra Notes II, by J. A. Montgomery. Some Observations as to the Origin of the Babylonian Syllabary, by G. A. Barton.

Revue Biblique, April, 1934. Acra, by R. P. L.-H. Vincent. Le Préhistorique de Palestine, by René Neuville.

Bulletin de Correspondance Hellénique, 1933. Chronique des fouilles et découvertes archaeologiques dans l'Orient hellénique, by Y. Béquignon.

Journal Asiatique, ccxxiii, I.

Syria, xiv, 4. Où en est le déchiffrement des hiéroglyphes Hittites ? By E. Dhorme.

Archiv fur Orientforschung, IX, 3. Die FeldzügeShamshi-Adads V gegen Babylonien, by E. F. Weidner.

Orientalistische Literaturzeitung, April-June, 1934. Bemerkungen zu Tafel C von Ras Schamra, by H. Bauer. Review of G. Dalman Arbeit und Sitte in Palästina, by K. Galling. Review of Oesterley and Robinson, A History of Israel, by W. Baumgartner. (May) Review of G. M. Crowfoot and L. Baldensperger, From Cedar to Hyssop, by G. Dalman. Review of H. Hirschberg, Studien zur Geschichte Esarhaddons, König von Assyrien, by K. Tallqvist. Review of F. X. Kortleitner, Cananaeorum auctoritas num ad religionem Israelitarum aliquid pertinuerit. By A. Allgeier.

Zeitschrift für die alttestamentliche Wissenschaft, XI. I. Hebrew Notes, by G. R. Driver. Antike zum Alten Testament, by F. Dornseiff.

Zeitschrift des Deutschen Palästina-Vereins, 57. I. Bemerkungen und Fragen zur Stätte der Geburt Jesu, by W. Foerster.

Associazione Inter. Studi Mediterranei, Bollettino iv, 6.

Biblica, 15, 2-3. Die Schlacht bei Megiddo und der Tod des Josias, by B. Alfrink. La question des images chez les Juifs à la lumière des récentes découvertes. By J.—B. Frey.

Bible Lands, April, 1934.

Al-Mashrik, Jan.-Mar., 1934.

ΝΕΑ ΣΙΩΝ Mar., 1934.

Quarterly of the Department of Antiquities in Palestine, III, 4.

The Near East, April-June, 1934. April Supplement, *Palestine*.

New Judea, April, 1934.

The Future of Palestine, by "Dr. Mehemed Emin Effendi."

The Jews, by Norman Bentwich.

British Interests in Palestine, by Herbert Sidebotham.

Buried History, Publications of the Oriental Institute, Chicago.

Ramath Rachel and Khirbet Salih, by B. Maisler.

La Biblia, illustracio pels Monjos de Montserrat. El Genesi.

Annual Report of the Anglo-Jewish Association, 1934.

Notes on the Chalcolithic and Early Bronze Age Pottery of Megiddo, by R. M. Engberg and G. M. Shipton.

The Excavation of Tel Beit Mirsim, IA, the Bronze Age Pottery of the 4th Campaign, by W. F. Albright.

Paralipomena Palestinensia : I, The Oldest Coins of Judea. II. Stamped Jar-Handles of the Post-Exilic Age, by E. L. Sukenik.

PALESTINE EXPLORATION FUND.

SIXTY-NINTH ANNUAL GENERAL MEETING.

THE 69TH ANNUAL GENERAL MEETING of the Fund was held at 2, Hinde Street, Manchester Square, London, W.1., on Tuesday, June 26th, 1934, SIR GEORGE HILL, K.C.B., F.B.A. (Director and Principal Librarian of the British Museum), presiding.

Letters regretting inability to be present were received from Sir Charles Marston, Principal Sir George Adam Smith, Mr. Sidney Smith, Professor Garstang, the Bishop of Rochester and Dr. Cecil Curwen.

The Hon. Secretary read the Minutes of the Annual Meeting held on June 22nd, 1933, and these, having been confirmed, were signed by the Chairman.

The Hon. Secretary reported that fifteen subscribers had qualified for Full Membership during the past year.

The Hon. Secretary reported that the Executive Committee proposed to add the name of Mr. Stewart Perowne to the General Committee.

Sir CHARLES CLOSE (Chairman of the Executive) then said: Sir George Hill, Ladies and Gentlemen—I have the honour to propose the ADOPTION OF THE ANNUAL REPORT AND ACCOUNTS FOR THE YEAR 1933. These have been for some months in the hands of subscribers, and I have no doubt that you will agree that they should be taken as read.

You will see in the Report that a legacy of £125 was received by the Fund from the estate of the late Mr. Herbert Bentwich, to be devoted to the renewed excavation of Gezer. Sir Charles Marston has generously supplemented this with a considerable additional sum and, in consequence, we shall be able to commence work on this site during the current year. Thanks to the suggestion of Mr. J. W. Crowfoot, of the British School of Archæology in Jerusalem, Mr. Alan Rowe, whose work at Beisan is so well known, has undertaken to direct the excavation. Later on in this meeting we shall hear more about the site and the proposed excavation from Dr. Masterman and Mr. Crowfoot.

As mentioned in the Report, this room has been used for several lectures during the past winter and spring. We are very grateful to Dr. Masterman, Colonel Newcombe, Professor Myres, Sir Frederic Kenyon and Professor Hooke for the lectures of this series which they so kindly delivered. We hope to arrange for similar lectures on Biblical Archæology each year. I would draw your attention to the notice of a lantern lecture which is to be delivered by Mr. J. L. Starkey, to-morrow, on the *Recent Discoveries* at *Tell Duweir*. We hope that this lecture will be well attended. A new series of lectures will begin in October next, the first two lectures being on the *Jerusalem Temple*, by Dr. Hollis.

We are lending our rooms, for a second time, for an *Exhibition of Antiquities* from Tell Duweir. The excavations have been carried out by the Wellcome Archæological Research Expedition, under the direction of Mr. Starkey. The Exhibition will be open from the 2nd to the 21st July.

In the early autumn the Egypt Exploration Society will hold an exhibition in these rooms which will remain open for a month. We are thus, not only in our publications, but also by lending the use of our rooms for exhibitions and by our lectures, doing much to promote a knowledge of Palestinian archæology.

As you will have noticed in the Treasurer's Report, we borrowed £1,350 in order to improve our premises and make this house more worthy of our Society. This sum is to be paid off, capital and interest, in six years. One instalment has been paid, and we still have five more sums of £225 each to pay off in succeeding years, plus the interest. We must, therefore for the next few years, expect a certain financial stringency. And this makes it all the more desirable that we should increase our membership. The Executive Committee would be very glad if existing subscribers would do their best to encourage others to join our Society.

I beg to move the adoption of the Report and the Accounts for 1933.

Colonel Newcombe seconded and the Report and Accounts were adopted.

On the motion of the Rev. F. W. Green, seconded by Mr. A. M. Hyamson, the EXECUTIVE COMMITTEE was re-elected as at present constituted.

Professor S. H. Hooke proposed and Dr. Masterman seconded the re-election of Messrs. Turquand Youngs and Co., as AUDITORS for 1934, and this was unanimously carried.

VISIT TO CYPRUS.

The CHAIRMAN then said : Ladies and Gentlemen,—According to the Agenda I am to give you an account of my visit to Cyprus. I do not, however, pretend to know a great deal about Cyprus because it was my first visit and I only spent three and a half weeks on the island. I shall, therefore, attempt to veil my ignorance by showing you an unusually large number of slides in proportion to the amount of time I intend to occupy in addressing you.

Cyprus is, as I soon discovered, one of the most difficult archæological fields in the world because, owing to its geographical position, it has always been subject to a number of conflicting influences and the people never seem to have had sufficient independence to strike out a real style of their own. That is not to say there are not characteristics of the Cypriote style, but they never seem to rise to the first rank in anything.

Cyprus first appears in history about 1500 B.C. as paying tribute to Egypt. But there is practically nothing except Neolithic and Bronze Age antiquities until you come to about 700 B.C. My first slide depicts a typical Cypriote proto-ionic capital, of interest to those who have been reading of the recent excavations in Megiddo. These capitals adorn the cheeks of the entrance to a tomb at Tamassos, which once was an important site but of which there is practically nothing left but a couple of tombs. Inside the tomb is an interesting piece of wood-construction technique imitating a roof of logs which reminds one of the imitation wood-work seen in Lycian tombs of a later period. I do not know the date of this tomb, but the Megiddo capital is supposed to be about the 10th century. I doubt whether the tomb at Tamassos is as early.

Of Cypriote sculpture there is practically nothing until after the Assyrian period of domination which came to an end c. 709 B.C, The influence seen in early Cypriote sculpture is probably much less

Assyrian than Syrian. That applies to the extraordinary group of statues found at Ayia Irini, some of which have been taken to Stockholm while others are now in the Cyprus Museum. Those statues apparently date from c. 600 B.C. and if they show any influence it is Syrian rather than Assyrian.

The next important series of results was obtained at Vouni where the Swedes have done a remarkable piece of excavation. They found on the summit of a steep bluff about 600 feet above the sea on the north coast, overlooking the coast of Asia Minor, the remains of a palace which they excavated and have left in a model condition for an excavated site. The view of the megaron and platform which I show dates from about 500-480 B.C. The site has been carefully tidied up and fenced with wire and left in charge of one of the Forest Guards. It is the only site in Cyprus which is decently cared for.

The next slide depicts not a 13th century French Gothic head but one of the heads of the early 5th century found at Vouni ; a female head, judging by the crown. Somewhat later Cypriote sculpture is represented by a head about which a great deal of fuss was made when it was found at Potamia a few years ago. That head is now in the Cyprus Museum, and may represent Apollo. It is typical of Cypriote art of the 4th century or a little later. You will note the weakness of the treatment of the mouth. The profile is even feebler than the front view. It is, of course, Greek in inspiration ; but it reminds one of nothing so much as modern advertisements in the Press reproducing a supposed classical ideal.

I next show you the present state of the site of the excavations at Kouklia, the old Paphos, which was dug in 1887-88 by the English Cyprus Exploration Society, and left unfenced. There is now much less left on this extraordinarily interesting site of the Temple of Aphrodite, on which nearly every stone bears an inscription, because it has been plundered systematically by the villagers surrounding it for building-stone. Anybody can walk in at any time and take away anything. Fifty pounds would probably suffice to wire it in and clean it up, but so far £50 has not been forthcoming. This temple is mainly of Ptolemaic date. Whether the original Temple of Aphrodite is underneath I cannot say. Probably that is on another site because one soon gets down to bed-rock in this part of the country.

The Air Ministry has kindly lent me an air photograph of Salamis, on which, however, one can pick out little but the great forum of the Hadrianic period. The Forest Department has very wisely planted mimosa scrub and pines because this being a shifting sandy area the sand would very soon have blown over everything. It would be a fairly easy site to dig and I hope if any more digging is done that will be one of the first places attacked. This site was also dug by the English in 1890. It is a magnificent lay-out, more or less on the same plan as the great forum at Pompeii. The site ought to be properly cleared. Another important site at Salamis, also dug by the English, known as the marble forum, probably dates in origin from the Antonine period, though it was in use a great deal later. This site has been only partly cleared.

A fine sarcophagus now at Varosha probably also came from Salamis. Until the British occupation it stood outside the mosque at Famagusta. It is known as the Inglis sarcophagus. One of the Commissioners named Inglis died rather tragically in 1883 and his widow asked permission to use the sarcophagus as his tomb. This was granted by the Muslim authorities and she took the sarcophagus away and put it at Varosha. The spot is now used as a privy.

The interest of the comparatively modern church of St. George at New Paphos lies in the enormous granite monolithic columns standing by it. There is some doubt whether they are actually *in situ*, but they must be Egyptian granite columns of the 4th or 5th century.

Probably the finest piece that has been found in Cyprus for a long time is the bronze portrait statue of Septimius Severus. The head and shoulders have been restored, but the rest of the body awaits treatment.

I propose now to pass over the Byzantine period and come down to the Lusignan period (1192-1489) which began after Richard Coeur de Lion sold Cyprus to the Lusignans. The characteristics of this period may best be seen in the churches, some of which are quite well preserved. That cannot however be said of the small church, or rather three churches mixed together, at Ayios Chrisostomos. The building has had no roof over it for at least 200 years, for a drawing in a Russian book of travel shows it as roofless in the middle of the 18th century, and it was roofless probably long before that. A carob tree has forced its way through the walls and if you stand under that tree and look towards the church you will see on the wall an exceedingly fine 12th century Greek fresco which, thanks to the Cypriote climate, is almost as well preserved as when it was done. It is on an open wall with no roof whatever over it. There are no frosts in Cyprus and little rain, so that one occasionally finds things in this extraordinary condition.

A slightly later fresco is one of about the middle of the 13th century to be seen at Asinou in a little mountain church ; a fine fresco depicting the Ascension of the Virgin. Most Cypriote frescoes can only be described as sub-Byzantine and is difficult to date because of adherence to the traditional style ; the Cypriotes went on painting as nearly as possible in the same style right down to the 18th century and even later. It is always necessary to have documentary evidence if it is desired to date anything of this school, but such evidence is seldom available.

Another good specimen, and one of the finest frescoes in Cyprus, is the Transfiguration in a church at Galata ; and I may also instance the Virgin in the church of Evrychou. There are an extraordinary number of painted churches in Cyprus ; indeed, one seldom visits a village in the mountain without finding one or two, sometimes three, little churches frescoed all over in various stages of decay. Although they may not be first-rate works of art they ought certainly to be properly preserved. Another characteristic of these churches is the woodwork. Very little of it is early. The characteristic example from the church at Paleokhorio is dated 1612. Too exacting a standard must, of course, not be applied to the art of this sort of woodwork, the effect of which, with its cheerful red, blue and gold paint, is very attractive.

The Iconostasis from Cyprus, now in the Victoria and Albert Museum, is probably one of the finest that have come from the island. It is dated 1757-1762. It is not, as generally stated, from the church at Aschelia.

To come to the architecture of the churches, I show you a typical and charming little church at Lambousa, near Kyrenia, in what is called the Byzantine-Gothic style. It has been dated by some as early 16th century; but others have put it as early as the 14th century. It has the characteristic barrel vaulted nave and dome over the cross, and a narthex which is rather later than the rest of the building.

The general view of Famagusta shows only the old Cathedral, now a Mosque, and St. George of the Greeks, out of about fourteen churches mostly derelict. The modern buildings within the walls are increasing. After they took Famagusta in 1570 the Turks declined to allow any buildings to be put up, and it is only of late that, very regrettably, modern buildings have been erected there. There is really no point in building them within the walls because land is quite cheap outside. In fact, the ideal one ought to aim at would be to schedule the whole of Famagusta as an ancient site and not allow any more buildings to be erected there. It would prove a wonderful site because it has an extraordinary collection of most interesting churches.

St. Anne is perhaps the best preserved of the 14th century churches at Famagusta. There was at one time a central gable; the curious " ears " are rather characteristic and are found on several other churches of the same period. St. George of the Greeks is also a 14th century frescoed church, and if anything is done to preserve monuments in Cyprus this should be one of the first churches to be dealt with. But there is very little *a*f it left.

Coming to the Cathedral at Famagusta, now the chief mosque, you might be looking at any ordinary French church. It is first mentioned about 1300. As a mosque it is well cared for and preserved, especially inside. The original minaret has disappeared. There is a rather interesting apsidal end to the church, with a curious outside gallery. The whole church is all well roofed over and quite usable inside. The Muslims take good care of their mosques.

I now show you Bella Pais, a pre-Premonstratensian abbey near the coast east of Kyrenia in a wonderful situation overlooking the sea and Asia Minor. The roof of the common room, with the dormitory above, of fourteenth century work, is said to have fallen in only about thirty years ago. The cloister is 15th century, with remains of flamboyant tracery. Parts of it look as if they would fall at any moment. There is a magnificent refectory in very good condition, a beautiful piece of architectural lay-out. It must have been designed by a competent architect who knew all about refinements of vaulting, but the detail was left to the local sculptor and is poor.

Another instance, from Famagusta, of the use to which churches are put is seen in the church of "St. Peter and Paul" (probably a wrong designation). At the time of our visit it was in use for packing oranges.

There was no classical renaissance in Cyprus; the builders went on with Gothic; in fact, with much earlier motives than our ordinary pointed architecture so far as details are concerned, and you will find perfectly good zig-zag Norman decoration on 16th century arches and also the dog-tooth. The latter is puzzling since there are very few places in the whole of France where you find dog-tooth ornament; it must have been introduced into Cyprus by some English monk. It took the fancy of the Cypriote builders and they went on producing it on later buildings.

This 16th century church at Nicosia is known as the Badestan or Exchange. It is used as a miscellaneous store. It is first mentioned about 1507. The barrel roof of the nave is ready to fall.

To come to similar buildings, the Castle of St. Hilarion, close to Kyrenia, was first fortified by Jean d'Ibelin in 1228 and was deserted in the 14th century. It is one of the most romantic of all mediæval castles.

Another noble ruin is the remains of the castle at Kantara, built about 1300 and deserted in 1525. Finally I mention Colossi, the castle which belonged to the Knights of St. John, who still own it. In its present form (apart from quite recent and unwarranted modern additions) it dates from the 15th century.

The other fortifications in Cyprus are naturally the walls and bastions. The finest example is the Martinengo bastion at Famagusta by Giovanni di Michele Sammichele, who died in 1559 and was a son of the Sammichele who did so much fortification in North Italy. Any architect on seeing this bastion must be amazed at the skill with which the extraordinarily difficult problems in the construction of the curving vaulted galleries have been solved. There is probably no more skilful piece of construction of the kind in existence.

The fortifications at Nicosia were built some ten years later by Giulio Savorgnan, another Venetian military architect. They consisted of earthworks revetted with stone, which is now gradually falling away, but a little grouting with cement would be a simple and inexpensive matter. On arriving at Nicosia we learned that a great part of the walls and some of the bastions, which are scheduled monuments under the Antiquities Act, had been destroyed within the preceding few weeks.

How far the destruction (in which there was a pause during our visit) has proceeded, I do not know. But there was nothing that we saw that brought home to us so vividly as this the necessity of establishing an adequate Department of Antiquities for the Colony. If this visit of Sir Charles Peers and myself will do anything to forward such a measure, it will not have been in vain.

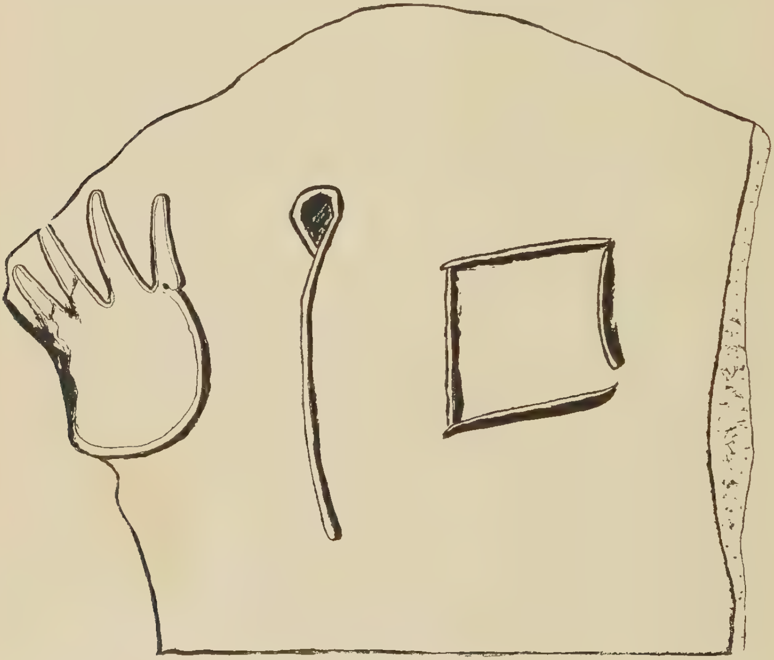
The Gezer Excavations of 1902-09.

Dr. E. W. G. Masterman explained that he had at the request of Sir Charles Close prepared a short paper on Gezer which he proposed to read. It was his duty, he supposed—he might say his privilege—as Hon. Secretary to fill in a gap in the Programme of the Annual Meeting. It had, however, been hoped that there would be present someone straight from the field in order to talk on the work in Palestine. Had the Council known that Dr. Badè would be able to be present at that meeting after all, they would have been pleased for him to speak on the subject. Then since the meeting commenced he had seen Mr. Fitzgerald, who had been working at Beisan, enter the room, so that really he felt mortified that full advantage had not been taken of the presence of those two workers.

He proposed to make a humble attempt to remind some of those present of, and perhaps to inform others on, the work done in Gezer about thirty years ago by Professor Macalister, work which he had had the privilege of following very closely as an amateur. (See *Gezer*, by E. W. G. Masterman, p. 135.)

Proposed New Excavations at Gezer.

Mr. J. W. Crowfoot then addressed the meeting as follows: Mr. Chairman, Ladies and Gentlemen,—Since the close of the excavations which have been so fully described by Dr. Masterman, only one very interesting discovery has been made on the surface at Gezer. Four or five years ago, when the American school was visiting the site, one of the students picked up the handle of a pot which had on it three letters. They were at first thought by Professor Taylor, of Toronto, who was then Annual Professor in the American school, to be an early form of Hebrew script.[1] But a few weeks after he brought the piece to Jerusalem two explorers from Mount Sinai and the Sinaitic inscriptions, Professor Butin and Professor Lake, came to Jerusalem and at once recognised the letters as belonging to the Sinaitic alphabet about which some of you have probably read a good deal in the correspondence which has been going on in *The Times* as a result of a discovery which was made by Mr. Starkey at Tell Duweir a few weeks ago. This fragment of pottery was examined also by the leading ceramists in Jerusalem and they attribute it to the Middle Bronze Age, that is to say, something



Gezer Ostracon (from a photo.)

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[1] See J.P.O.S. Vol. X. Plate I and text.

about 2.000 and 1600 B.C.; at least 300 years older than the fragments which Mr. Starkey has found at Tell Duweir and a similar fragment found at Bethshemesh. The three letters, incised on the handle before it was burnt, may represent the name of the maker or owner of the pot.

That is the only interesting discovery made on the site since the excavations of Dr. Macalister were closed, the site remaining very much as he left it. He, fortunately, re-buried most of the things he had found, including the High Place. Nearly all excavators in Palestine re-bury things, and in view of what Sir George Hill has been showing us to-day in Cyprus it is a good thing we do so, though it renders sites less interesting to visitors. One can still trace the lines of Macalister's work and in several places his dumps are still raised above the level.

I visited the site about a month ago with Mr. Alan Rowe and two members of the Department of Antiquities in Jerusalem in order to examine the place and for Mr. Rowe to choose the site on which he would work. As you may remember when you recall the site plan, there is a large area in which Dr. Macalister did not work at the west end; west, that is to say, of the Muslim cemetery which probably conceals the finest buildings of all which, at present at any rate, are consequently out of reach. The west end also contains the big house which is rather smaller than it was because during the earthquake the upper storey became so unsafe that it had to be taken down. This seems the natural place to recommence work. Sir Flinders Petrie always says that the west end of a site is better than any other. It is the side close to the sea and the side which gets the West breeze. I do not know whether that applies to most sites but certainly it would not apply in Samaria. It seems, however, that Sir Flinders Petrie may be right as far as Gezer is concerned and that is another reason for choosing this site. It is a clean area. It is open to the breeze at the west end and it has at present a sloping surface down to the confluence of the two streams at the bottom.

Professor Macalister did not work there and the walls are not visible upon the surface. The outline of the walls was only dotted on the plan. Mr. Rowe hopes to fill in this topographical detail with certainty and he should find a sufficient accumulation on both sides of the wall to enable him to control the earlier stratification results. At any rate, what he proposes, as far as I understand his plans, is to cut a broad section at the west end of the hill and make lateral branches from it where it seems advisable. When he gets to the line of the walls he will naturally follow them as far as he can on both sides.

Conditions at Gezer seem, so far as we could make out, very pleasant to work in. The big house there still offers quite good accommodation and the people appeared to be extraordinarily pleasant and welcoming. They are fellaheen of the ordinary Moslem type who have been acting as cultivators under the Maccabean Land Company of which the late Mr. Bentwich was Chairman, and the relations between the Company, between, that is to say, Mr. Bentwich for most of the recent period and the people there, seem to have been most happy. They speak of him with great regard. They are attractive people, there will be no difficulties with land owners, and I think the excavation is starting under the best possible auspices.

VOTE OF THANKS.

The CHAIRMAN moved that a hearty vote of thanks be accorded to Mr. Crowfoot and to Dr. Masterman for the interesting accounts they had given, the first of recent excavations and prospects for the future, the second of previous excavations.

The vote of thanks having been accorded with acclamation,

Sir CHARLES CLOSE proposed that best thanks be given to Sir George Hill for so ably presiding and for his admirable account of his visit to Cyprus.

This also was accorded with acclamation, and the proceedings terminated.

EXCAVATIONS AT BETH-SHAN IN 1933.

By G. M. FitzGerald, M.A., *Field Director.*

The excavations of the Museum of the University of Pennsylvania at Beth-shan were resumed in September, 1933, and carried on till the end of November, a comparatively short period comprising just sixty working days. During the preceding season, in 1931, excavation in the south-eastern quarter of the great mound, Tell el-Hosn, had been carried down below the temple attributed to the reign of Thothmes III and had uncovered two strata (Levels Xa and Xb) dating from the latter part of the Middle Bronze Age (MB II), commonly described as the Hyksos period.[1] Our principal objective during the season of 1933 was to make something in the nature of a *sondage*, going down below Level Xb to rock or virgin soil. For this purpose we selected an area of somewhat irregular shape measuring about 24 metres in length from north to south by 16 metres in width, but narrowing somewhat towards its southern end, which extended to the edge of the Tell.

We were completely successful in attaining our object ; the width of our area, though diminishing as we went down, proved sufficient to enable us to distinguish the salient characteristics of the various levels uncovered, and we were fortunate in finding traces of continuous occupation, clearly stratified, from our starting-point down to virgin soil.

The depth of the excavation was approximately 8·50 metres (say, 28 feet), virgin soil being reached at about 79·00 metres above our datum.[2] The successive levels were numbered XI to XVIII, but some of these (Levels XI, XII, XIV and XV) contained evidence of rebuilding, so that we may claim to have uncovered as many as twelve distinct levels of occupation in addition to primitive dwelling-pits which had been dug in the virgin soil.

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[1] For a brief description of these levels see *Q.S.*, July, 1932, pp. 145 *sqq.*

[2] It may be interesting to note the approximate heights above datum of the following levels, on the summit of the Tell : Level IX (Thothmes III), c. 89·00 m. ; Level VII (Amenophis III) c.91·50 m. ; Level VI (Seti I), c. 93·50 m. ; Level V, c. 95·00 ; Levels II and I (Byzantine Church and Arab Street), c. 100·50 m.

The levels fall into three main groups : (*a*) Levels XI and XII, mainly of MB I period, covering the transition from EB to Hyksos pottery and being distinguished by a wealth of lustrous burnished wares, black and red ; (*b*) Levels XIII-XV containing numerous ledge-handles and flat-bottomed jars or *pithoi* with heavy rims and painted decoration of criss-cross pattern ; (*c*) Levels XVI-XVIII in which the larger vessels are unpainted but are decorated with bands of finger-imprints, and in the lowest stratum of which we found numerous loop handles of a primitive type but no ledge handles.

The changes in the character of the pottery, clearly marked though they are, do not seem to have been caused by any sudden catastrophe, nor could we observe any evidence that the site had ever been abandoned. A remarkable feature, noted in previous seasons also, was the apparently defenceless state of the city. No trace of a rampart or town wall was found ; at each level the small walls of houses ran out to the very edge of the Tell.

In the following brief description of the various levels it seems best to begin with the lowest.

I. The virgin soil of the Tell consists of a deep deposit of red earth. We sounded this at one place to a depth of 3.30 m. (11 feet) without reaching the hard rock and dug into it at various points without finding any flint implements, pottery or other trace of disturbance, except where pits had been dug into it by the earliest inhabitants of the site. A remarkable feature of the area of virgin soil which we cleared was its flatness. From the edge of the Tell for a distance of about 29 metres towards its centre there was hardly any rise in the ground level, although at the Tell edge there is an abrupt fall of the ground. It seems obvious that this cannot be due to a natural conformation, so we must suppose that the levelling was carried out by the early inhabitants, perhaps as the result of a gradual process of attrition, rather than in a single operation.

Two large flat-bottomed pits had been dug in the soil, one about three, and the other about five, feet in depth. The latter, which lay on the east side of our area was the more regular in shape ; it appears to have been entered from the south by a sloping ramp on the west side of which was a roughly circular chamber about 3.00 m. (10 feet) in diameter, its sides slightly undercut. (Both these pits are seen in Pl. I., Fig. 1, still partly covered by walls of the earliest buildings, Level XVIII). Two more pits, one at the north the other at the south-west, were only partly uncovered by our excavations. These pits all contained a filling of grey debris, very unlike the red soil and doubtless containing an admixture of decayed vegetable matter. Distributed throughout the depth of this filling in each pit we found a number of flint implements and fragments of pottery. The implements were of much the same character as those from Level XVIII, Pl. I., Fig. 2; some of the pottery is shewn in Pl. II., Fig. 1. Particular interest attaches to the few sherds of painted ware, especially to the rim and side of a bowl decorated with two bands of chevrons in red paint. Below this in the photograph is a jar-rim with a rough rope pattern decoration. By far the greatest number of pottery fragments consisted of circular loop handles formed by running a stick through the clay before it was fired. No complete shapes were found, as the ware was poorly baked and the bulk of the vessels had doubtless disintegrated, while only the more solidly formed handles remained.

The shapes of these pits and the debris which filled them led us to the conclusion that they were dug as shelters for occupation; presumably they had been roofed over by some form of matting or brushwood construction.

Below the walls of Level XVIII the debris of occupation above virgin soil reached a depth of about 0·70 m.

II. Level XVIII contained nothing that could be recognised as a dwelling, but had definite remains of walls, one at the extreme south, near the Tell edge, and another along the west side of the area. The latter, as appears from Pl. I., Fig. 1., ran directly over one of the pits. In addition to the straight walls we uncovered some small circular structures, presumably bins used for purposes of storage. The material used for building was in part small blocks of limestone but mainly small bricks, convex on the upper side, similar to those found in the level above.

The pottery of this level showed little variety. Loop handles, like those from the pits, and fragments of flat-bottomed jars having raised bands, decorated with finger impressions, running round them below their rims and also near their bases, were the predominating shapes. There were also fragments of hole-mouth pots and small straight-sided cups and two sherds with traces of bands of chevrons in red paint. Some of the flint implements from Level XVIII are shown in Pl. I., Fig. 2 : a stone mace-head was also found.

III. Level XVII, immediately above Level XVIII, was of much the same character. The excavated surface contained few walls, and those mainly near the Tell edge. With one exception they were built of small mud bricks with a rounded upper side, recalling the plano-convex bricks of Babylonia. They vary somewhat in size, the average being about 22 × 15 × 6 cm. In contrast to these were four large flat bricks, laid as part of a curved wall at the extreme south of the area, one of which was 59 cm. in length and 14 cm. thick, its width varying from 42 to 38 cm. Dotted about Level XVII were a number of clay bins of which only the bottoms remained, consisting of the rough unbaked linings of circular holes.

As in the level below, loop-handles and jars with finger-print ornament were among the commonest finds. Ledge handles, however, began to come into use at this level, all of them of the earliest type with finger-prints along the outer edge, save one small plain example which appeared in the shallow filling below the floor level. A few heavy jar-rims anticipate the pottery of a later period, and some fragments of a grey-black burnished ware seemed more characteristic of the level immediately above. Another mace-head was found in Level XVII and, just below, a turquoise bead with two perforations, recalling one found at Megiddo (in Stage III)[3] but of more elongated shape.

IV. In Level XVI we had the earliest example of a habitable building in the house shewn in Pl. III., Fig. 1. It consisted of a chamber 4.00 m. × 3.50 m. (interior measurement) at the south, with fairly straight walls and a threshold near the Tell edge : its northern end, partly separated from the southern by a cross-wall, was enclosed by a semicircular wall, giving the building an apsidal form. Three bins of soft red clay had been ranged against the northern wall, but one of them had been destroyed by the erection of a dividing-wall running north and south. On the west side of this was a small area paved with broken pottery. An opening in the cross-wall between this paving and the southern chamber was partly occupied by a small square space, apparently a hearth, enclosed on three sides by a single course of brick and containing ashes. The walls were built of flat bricks, none of the plano-convex type were found at this or any higher level. A typical brick (header) in the northern wall was shaped symmetrically to the curve of the wall, and measured from 39 cm. to 41 cm. in length, 34 cm. along its outer face, and 31 cm. at the inner end ; its thickness varied from 12 cm. on the face to 10 cm. in the interior of the wall. A stretcher from the same wall measured 47 × 26 × 7.5 cm.

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[3] Engberg and Shipton, *Notes on the Chalcolithic and Early Bronze Age Pottery of Megiddo* (Chicago Or. Inst. Studies No. 10), Fig. 13, E.

Other curved walls and a stone foundation similar in plan appeared just to the north of the house ; further north were two straight walls running parallel about 3.30 m. apart. It is to be observed that the use of stone foundations for mud-brick walls did not become general till a later period.

The most interesting finds from Level XVI were the copper implements seen in Pl. II., Fig. 2. They were found near the threshold at the southern end of the apsidal house, but not so close together as to make it probable that they were intrusions from a later period.

Some pottery fragments from this level are shewn in Pl. III., Fig. 2. The jar-rim in the middle of the upper row, with a band of finger impressions, is very characteristic. At the left end of each row is an example of the grey-black burnished ware which becomes quite common at this level ; the carinated bowl in the upper row is surrounded by a ledge with an undulating outline forming as it were a succession of small ledge handles ; the vessel below (from which the burnish has worn off) has small ledge handles on the shoulder. On the plain vessels ledge handles have now superseded the loop handles of the lower levels. They are mainly of the early type with indented edges, but plain ones are by no means rare. Hole-mouth pots seem to have been among the commonest types of vessel in use. In general characteristics the pottery of Level XVI was sharply divided from that of the levels above, but there was naturally some admixture of later types, such as the sherd with streaks of red-brown paint in the lower row of Pl. III., Fig. 2.

Flint implements were found, as at all levels, and with them was a small polished celt.

V. Levels XV and XIV may be conveniently treated in one section, though they must undoubtedly cover a considerable period of time. In each of them there was a certain amount of rebuilding, so they represent three or four periods of occupation at least, and it is not easy to draw a hard and fast distinction between them.

As far as the pottery is concerned, the most marked change was the virtual disappearance of the old type of vessel decorated with finger impressions. The predominating form of jar in Levels XV and XIV (as in XIII also) has a short neck and a heavy rim, often with a small loop handle on the shoulder, the body being decorated with criss-cross streaks of red and brown of various shades. On the other hand, fragments of grey-black burnished ware appeared frequently in Level XV (though not at all in XIV) and the indented ledge handles continued to be found in both levels. In Level XIV, however, the plain type of ledge handle definitely prevailed, and at the same level the pushed-up type[4] was encountered. Another form found in Level XIV, but very rarely in XV, was the bowl with sharply inturned rim. Pattern—or lattice—burnishing also ceased below Level XIV. Spouted vessels, either bowls with heavy spouts or vases with thin burnished spouts (not found in complete shapes) were fairly common in both levels. In Level XIV was found a rectangular stone vessel, 30 cm. long by 21 cm. wide, divided into two compartments, one shallow the other smaller and deeper with a sloping channel-hole between them, obviously for the purpose of being used as a press for extracting oil or other liquid. Other stone objects from these two levels included three mace-heads (one of diorite) and a quantity of small basalt rings.

The buildings in Level XV and more especially in Level XIV differed entirely from those of the lower strata. The sparse and scattered walls were gradually replaced by rooms crowded together, more or less rectangular in plan, with few curved walls. The practice of using stone as a foundation for the mud brick of the walls became increasingly common. At the northern end of Level XIV there remained part of a stone drain with covering slabs.

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[4] This term is borrowed from the Megiddo excavations (Engberg and Shipton, *op. cit.*). The type is often included under the description "wavy handle," but ought to be distinguished from the true wavy form found in the predynastic period in Egypt. Sometimes, however, we found that the edge of the handle was pushed *down*, not up, in relation to its position on the vase.

VI. Level XIII contained, at the northern end of our area, three really well-built rooms, which probably formed part of a larger building. They are shewn in Pl. IV., Fig. 1. The room at the east contained a circular structure, apparently a grain-bin, with brick walls and a stone floor. This building had evidently been destroyed by fire, the stone floor of the bin was calcined and the bricks in the walls burnt red. The adjoining room was apparently used for storing grain-jars, as it was full of fragments of large *pithoi*—of the same type as we had noted in the levels just below—containing blackened remains of grain. The western room had post-holes sunk in its floor, in two rows of three along its northern side. All these rooms were bounded towards the south by a wall on a high stone foundation, outside which ran a narrow passage or lane. Bricks from these rooms measured about 42 by 22 by 11 cm., many of these were marked with an oval or circle with a line through it, somewhat like Φ. The buildings on the southern part of the area were on the whole less substantial but still of reasonably good construction, and there had been little rebuilding in any part of the level. The fire in the northern rooms did not appear to have formed part of a general conflagration as there was not much trace of ashes in the debris.

Level XIII was particularly rich in flint implements ; some of these are shewn in Pl. IV., Fig. 2. The ribbon knives, of remarkable length and thinness, were practically confined to this level.

The pottery closely resembled that of Level XIV, described above ; a few stump-base juglets and sherds with combed decoration seem to belong more properly to the level above. On the other hand two fragments which seemed to come from small long-handled *amphorisci*, with criss-cross painted decoration, suggest associations with the predynastic period of Egypt, about 3000 B.C.[5] which must surely be an impossibly early date for this level. A rare form of pottery was a high cylindrical stand or incense-burner with perforations and small ledge handles surmounted by a bowl shaped top.

VII. Level XII, together with the level above it, was excavated over a larger area than those beneath, as after completing our *sondage* down to virgin soil we extended our work as far as the south-east corner of the Tell. Two separate building-periods were comprised in this level, and there was a notable development in the pottery during the period of occupation. At some of the lower floor-levels the wares resembled those of Level XIII, but for the most part Level XII was dominated by a beautifully lustrous burnished pottery, red or black, of which examples are seen in Pl. V. This ware is hand-made and not particularly well baked, with the result that it is mainly represented by fragments. The surface is covered with a thick slip and the exterior of the vase is brought to a very high polish, the interior being usually burnished but less lustrous. A notable feature of the larger black bowls and pots is the diagonal fluting which is very common, and which occasionally terminates in a spiral or in a circle, presumably representing the sun, with curved rays issuing from it. Pl. VI., Fig. 1. These vases have slightly concave bases, and their shapes, together with the fluting, suggest originals of metal. A pleasing effect of variety is produced by leaving the rims of pots and bowls in the natural light brown of the ware, the bodies being black outside with red interiors. Small bowls with the same colour-scheme but not fluted, like that on the right of the second row in Pl., V., are very common; they sometimes have small knobs or protuberances on the outsides. A class of burnished dishes, with horizontal handles pierced by two holes, is decorated with solid and linear triangles in red on the natural colour of the clay, Pl. VI., Fig. 2. Bands of similar decoration appear on red burnished jugs with flaring rims and flat or concave bases. Pl. VII. Fig. 1, represents a hollow stand with a handle (broken off) and decorated with incised geometric patterns; the decoration is (apart from one or two small fragments) unique, but the shape seems to have been very common; a projecting knob is often found on the interior of fragments of this shape. This stand actually comes from Level XI, but in respect of this burnished pottery there is little or no difference between the two levels. The ware seems to have been introduced suddenly from outside, at an early stage in the occupation of Level XII, and to have been superseded with equal abruptness by the incoming of Hyksos pottery in Level XI It was absolutely confined to these two levels. A number of flat jar-bases of considerable thickness had similar burnishing, which shews that even coarser vessels were thus decorated.

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[5] For a recent allusion to this subject see Watzinger *Denkmäler Palästinas* (1933), p. 43 *sq.*, pl. 6, 16.

A fairly representative collection of the smaller vases from Level XII is shewn in Pl. V. Stump-base juglets are fairly common in the same levels as the finely burnished ware, and other characteristics of the same period (though found also somewhat earlier) are bowls and dishes with pattern burnishing on the interior, and small bowls with a moderately well burnished red slip. We also noticed some straight-sided cooking pots with rope decoration just below the rim. Finds peculiar to Levels XII and XI are conical lids, each surmounted by a knob handle through which a hole is bored, and objects of uncertain use consisting of two walls of pottery, meeting at an angle on the exterior of which is a handle, and having three rounded projections or knobs on the inner side, one at each end and one in the middle opposite the handle. Ledge handles of the fold-over, or envelope, type were found at Level XII though not below ; they did not however supersede either the plain or the pushed up ledge handles, and were indeed not found in great numbers. There were no examples of handles with indented edges.

A considerable intrusion of Hyksos pottery from Levels X, XA and XB, is accounted for by the numerous burials of MB II period found in Level XII, as well as in Level XI. It seems to have been a characteristic custom of the Hyksos invaders to bury their dead beneath the floors of their houses. Some of the burials consisted of jars containing the bones of infants, but for the most part the skeletons were those of adults, sometimes two or three together, with the usual tomb furniture, pottery, alabaster vases, copper daggers and occasionally scarabs.

The area at Level XII was entirely covered by small and insignificant buildings with no salient characteristics to distinguish them from either Level XIII or the levels above. The only exception was a square edifice with thick walls of brick, apparently a tower, of which the foundations went down into Level XII, and the walls were standing to a height of 3.50 m. (nearly 12 feet) and had been seen by us in Level X. To judge from the pottery standing at its foundation-level, this tower would seem to have been in use till the very end of the Middle Bronze Age if not later.

VIII. Level XI, which could be divided into two periods, requires no very detailed description. Its earlier rooms, including all those at the north-west of our area, were full of the lustrous burnished ware described above and the pottery in other respects closely resembled that of Level XII. The later buildings of Level XI, inconsiderable in themselves, seem to have coincided with the first appearance of Hyksos wares. It was very noticeable that this later pottery (quite apart from the intrusive burials) was not as a rule found intermixed with that of the earlier period, but appeared as it were in patches here and there. Evidently the new-comers who brought the Hyksos pottery with them did not at first thickly occupy the whole of this part of the Tell ; it is only when we reach Level XB that we find Hyksos pottery exclusively employed. This fact, however, does not prove that the older inhabitants, with their burnished wares, continued in occupation side by side with the invaders ; very probably their dwellings remained ruined and derelict till they were built over by the second Hyksos generation.

IX. In the course of the preceding descriptions of the various levels we have nowhere been able to bring forward any evidence to throw light on the absolute date of any one of them. The Hyksos invasion, appearing in Level XI, brings us down to about the middle of the 18th century B.C. ; from this we can fairly approximate Levels XII and XI, the period of lustrous burnished pottery, to the duration of the XIIth dynasty of Egypt, beginning about 2000 B.C. A gleam of light has recently been thrown on to the obscurity of the Early Bronze Age by the excavations at Megiddo[6], where a small area has been cleared down to rock, through seven levels or " stages," which seem at first sight to cover the period of our Levels XIII to XV, with perhaps some extension at each end. In Stage V several seal-impressions came to light which the excavators attribute to the early part of the Early Dynastic Period of Mesopotamia, that is the first century or so of the third millenium. It is, therefore, of interest to observe to what level in our scheme their Stage V most closely corresponds. Without going into great detail we may note, from the chart at the end of the Megiddo publication, that in Stage V the indented ledge handles and the plain sort overlap, but that the pushed-up type does not appear till later, in Stage IV.

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[6] Engberg and Shipton, *op. cit.*, pp. 31 *sqq.*, and *Q.S.*, April, 1934, p. 90 *sqq.*

This is precisely what we find in Level XV, and there is no reason for refusing to equate that level with Stage V, except the fact that the two lower stages at Megiddo do not seem to contain any of the pottery peculiar to Levels XVI-XVIII. Possibly this was superseded by later types at Megiddo at a somewhat earlier date than at Beth-shan ; otherwise we find ourselves obliged to date the first period of Level XV before 3000 B.C. and to allow over a thousand years for Levels XV-XIII, although we cannot trace in them more than five building periods. In any case the resemblances between Palestinian pottery of the Early Bronze Age and that of Predynastic Egypt warrant us in carrying back the more primitive types found in our lowest levels well into the fourth millennium, though we cannot yet attempt to speculate how far we should go.

X. In addition to the work described above we found time to make a little further clearance on the north side of the Tell summit at a much higher level. The remains of a building of XIXth Dynasty date were uncovered on Level VI, to the east of the large building excavated in 1931, together with a number of rooms further north, near the edge of the summit. At this point the stratification appears to be somewhat confused, but the buildings certainly lie below the foundations of Level V, which was formerly attributed to the time of Rameses II. Nevertheless, at one point at the summit edge we found stirrup vases and lentoid flasks with concentric circles, resembling those which have been found in the cemetery in all the Early Iron Age tombs containing anthropoid sarcophagi. In close proximity to these flasks we found the most interesting single object that the season yielded, the bronze tripod shewn in Pl. VII., Fig. 3. This is an example of a series which has been described as bridging the gap from Mycenaean to Geometric art[7]. A tripod from Curium (now in New York), with a frieze of galloping animals, is assigned to a date between 1250 and 1100 B.C. Six others, believed to be later in date, have been published, one of which comes from a Geometric grave in Athens, one from Tiryns, others from Cyprus and Crete. The rope pattern round the top, and the Ionic volutes in which the supports terminate, are features which our tripod has in common with others of its class. Not far from the tripod was the smaller bronze stand shewn in Pl. VII., Fig. 2, which had a bowl-shaped top, crushed and broken off from the support; with it were some small U-shaped pieces of lead, like clips, which may have been attached to it in some way. This stand, with the Ionic volutes at the foot, resembles one of several similar articles found by Dr. Schumacher at Magiddo and believed to be candelabra. They come from the level which was destroyed by fire at the time (as Dr. Watzinger believes) of the invasion of Shishak, about 926 B.C.[8]. The objects themselves may, of course, be of a considerably earlier date.

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[7] W. Lamb, *Greek and Roman Bronzes*, pp. 32 *sqq.*, pl. x and xi.

The position of our bronzes is analogous to that of the broken lintel of Rameses III which we found in our 1930-31 season[9], so we are tempted to carry back the date of the tripod and stand to his reign, in the first half of the twelfth century, but perhaps so early a date will not be generally accepted, though it receives some support from the character of the pottery associated with the tripod. In any case, we cannot disguise from ourselves that it may prove necessary to bring down the rooms of Level V which lie at the north and east sides of the Tell summit to a date substantially later than the reign of Rameses III.

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[8] Schumacher, *Tell el Mutesellim* I, p. 85, fig. 118 c; Watzinger, *id.* II., pp. 26 *sqq.*, pp. 56-9.

[9] *Q.S.*, April, 1931, p. 69, Plate v.

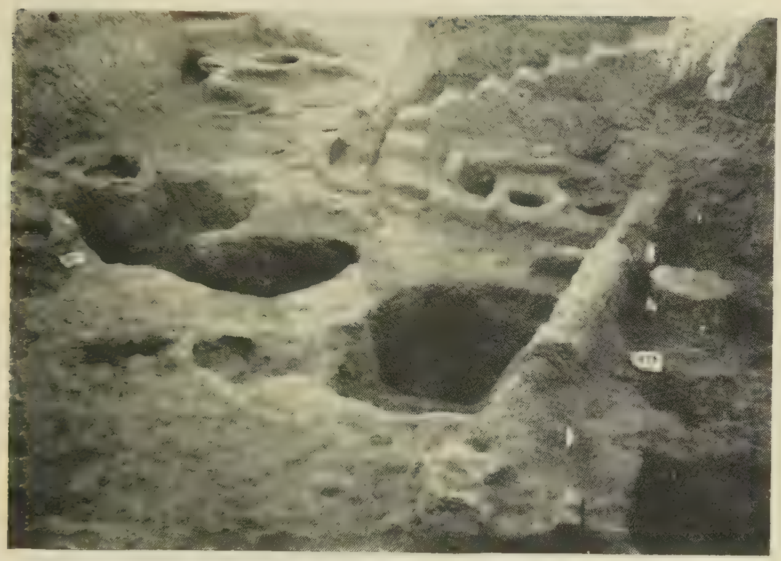


Fig. 1.—Level XVIII and Pits in Virgin Soil.

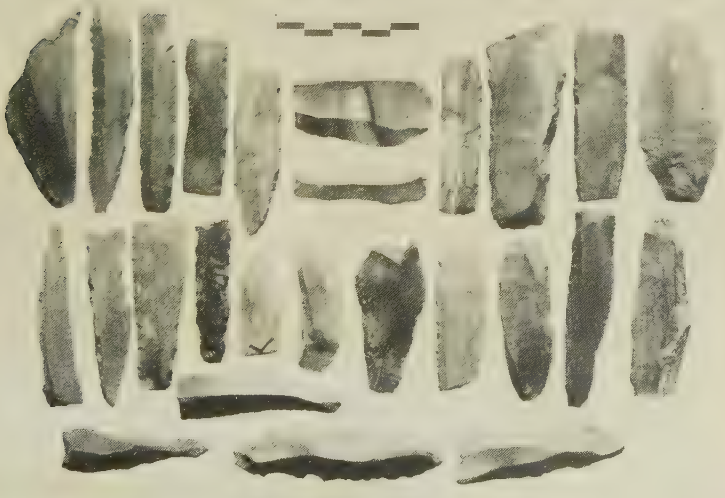


Fig. 2.—Flint Implements from Level XVIII.

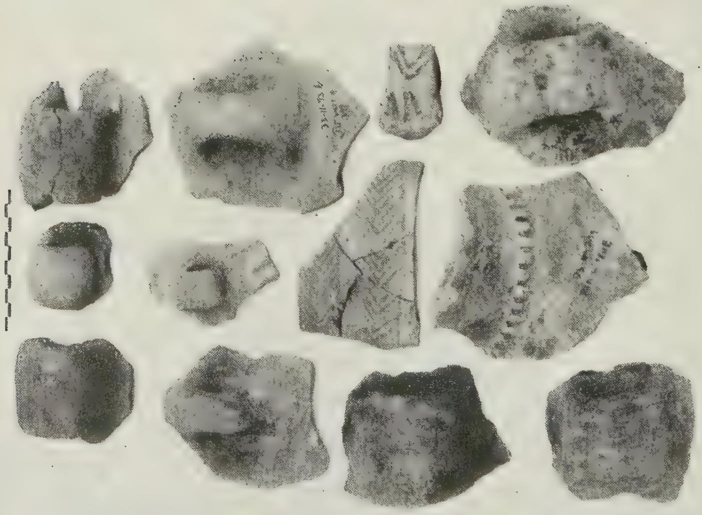


Fig. 1.—Pottery from Pits in Virgin Soil.

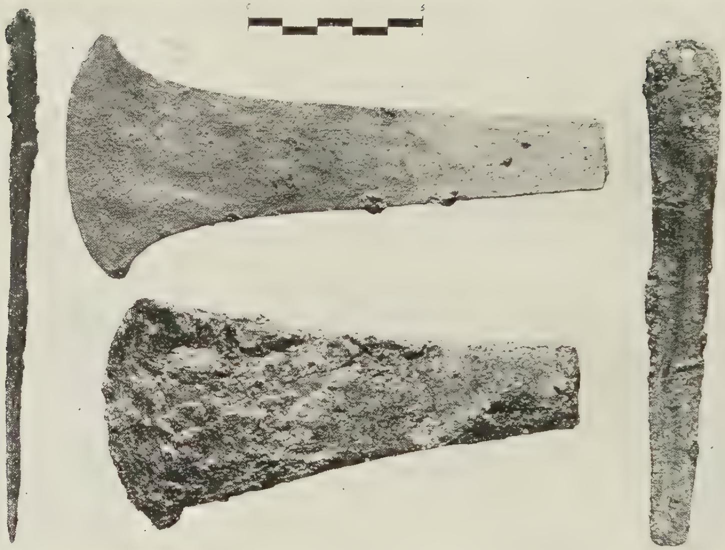


Fig. 2.—Copper Implements from Level XVI.

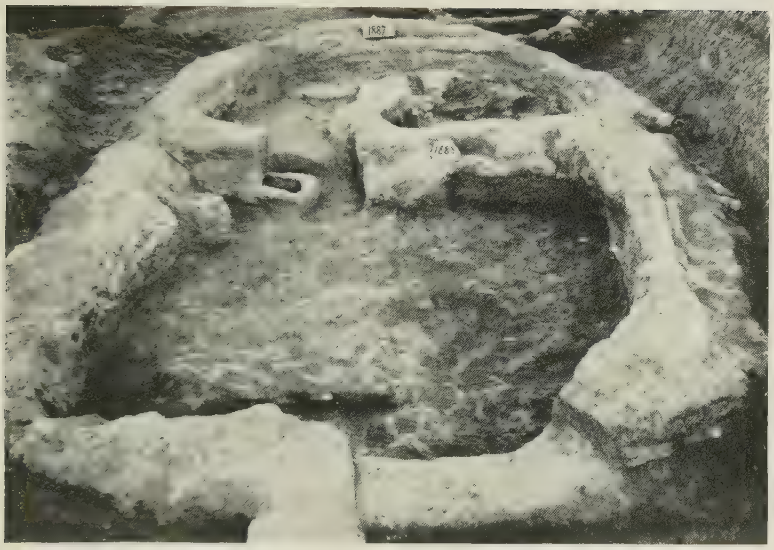


FIG. 1.—HOUSE IN LEVEL XVI.

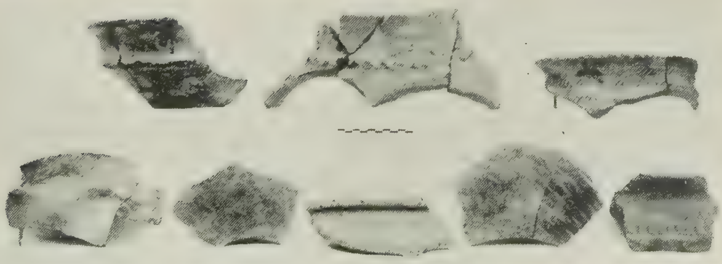


FIG. 2.—POTTERY FROM LEVEL XVI.

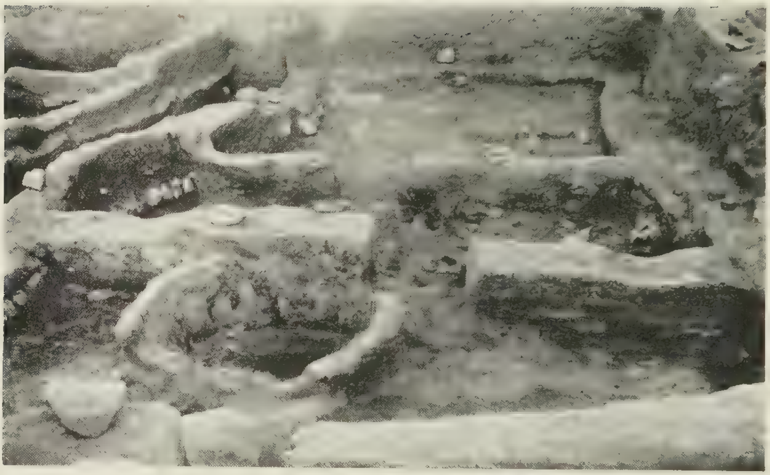


Fig. 1.—Rooms in Level XIII.

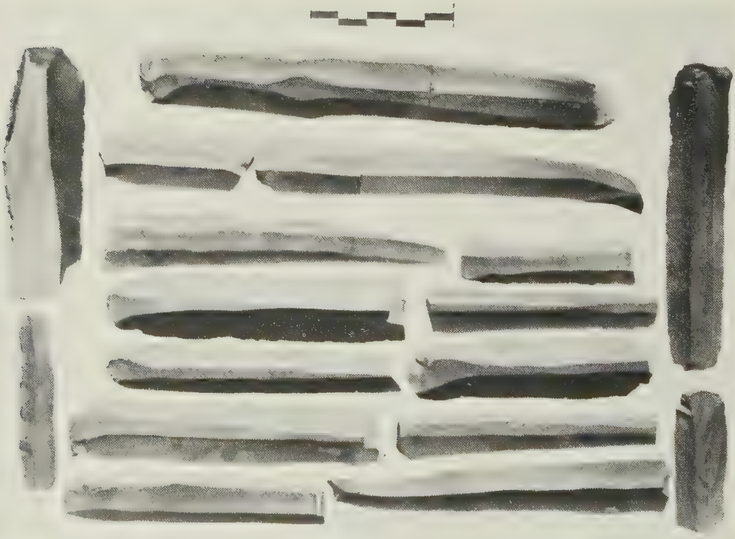
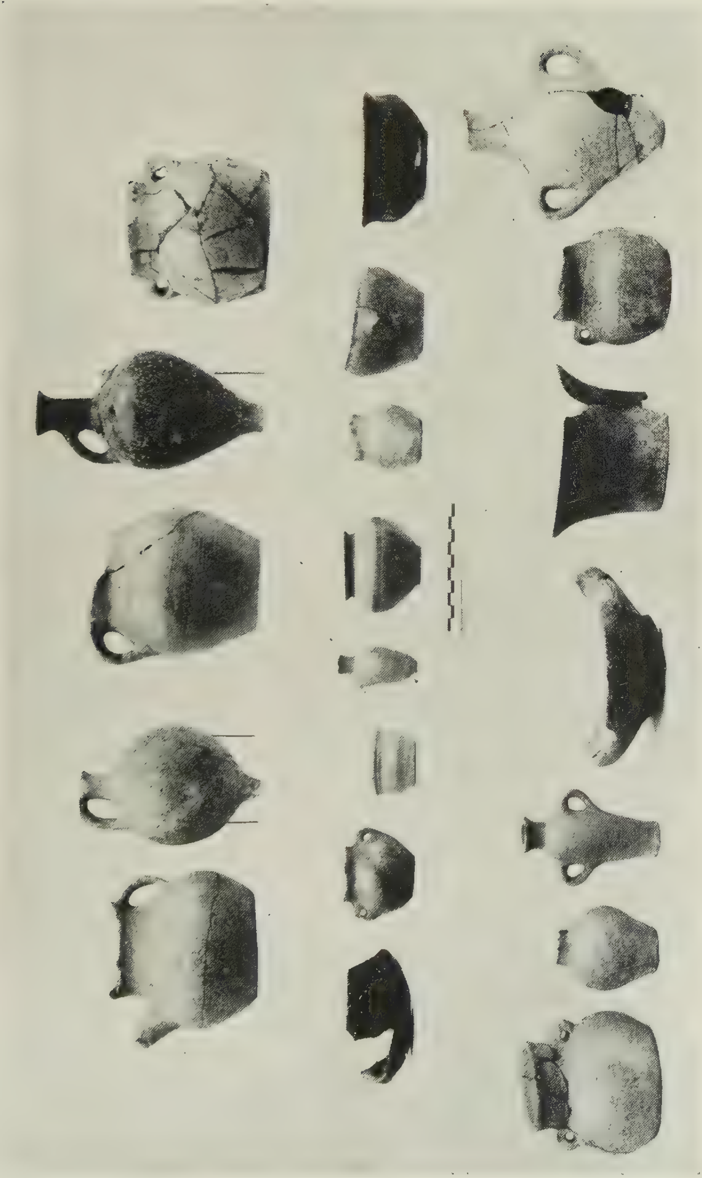


Fig. 2.—Flint Implements from Level XIII.



Pottery from Level XII.

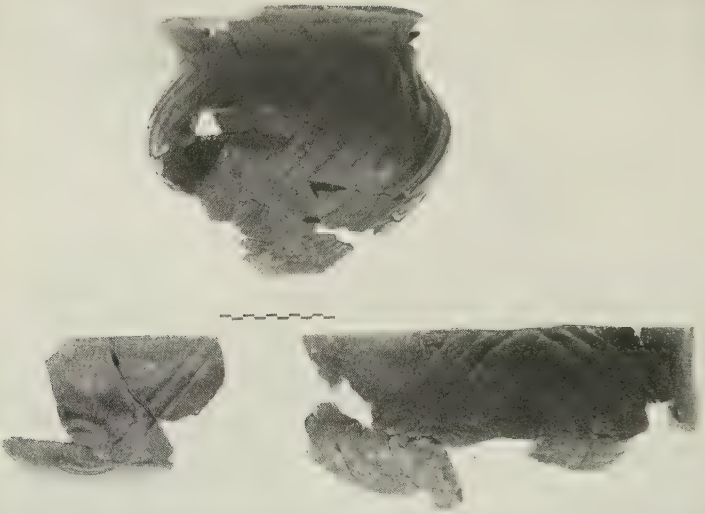


FIG. 1.—BURNISHED BOWLS.

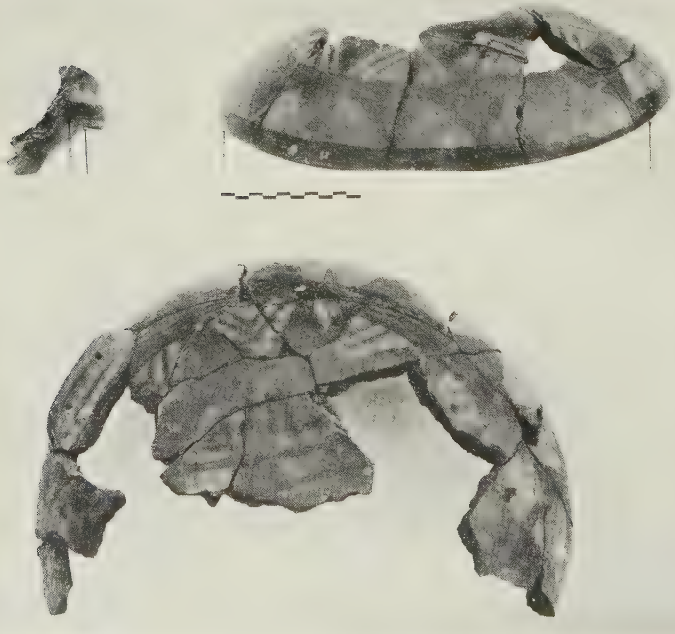


FIG. 2.—BURNISHED DISHES.

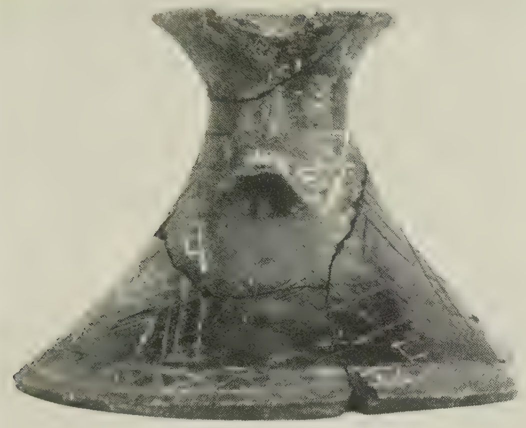


FIG. 1.—HOLLOW STAND, BURNISHED, WITH INCISED DECORATION.

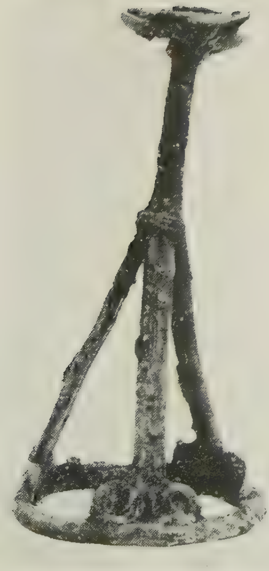


FIG. 2.—BRONZE STAND—
EARLY IRON AGE.

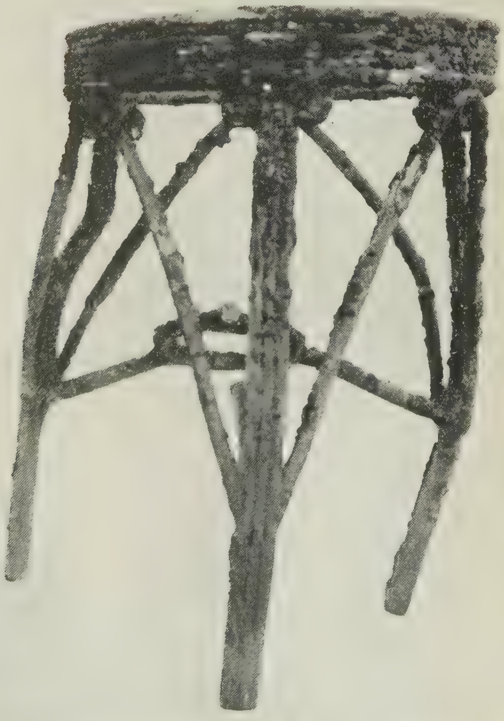


FIG. 3.—BRONZE TRIPOD.

GEZER.

By E. W. G. Masterman.

It is now 30 years since the excavation of the site of Gezer was first undertaken by Mr. (now Professor) R. A. S. Macalister[1]. It is, therefore, possible that many readers of the *Quarterly Statement* may fail to appreciate the full significance of the news that this summer once again an investigation of this site is to be undertaken by Mr. Alan Rowe. It has been suggested to me that I should give some account of this site and the work done there, which I was privileged to visit on many occasions.

The long lost site of Gezer was discovered by M. Clermont-Ganneau (see *Quarterly Statement*, 1873, pp. 78-79), and his suggestion that the modern name for the place, *Tell el Jezereh*, was a survival of the ancient name, was confirmed by his further discovery of bilingual inscriptions, in Hebrew and Greek, cut on surfaces of rock by a certain Alkios, apparently once the Governor of the City, containing the expression "the boundary of Gezer."

The natural features and the position of *Tell el Jezereh* abundantly explain the extreme importance of Gezer in ancient times. The buried remains crown a narrow hill, running from N.W. to S.E., about 1,700 ft. long by 300 to 500 ft. broad. The approach is steep on every side, and in early times, before the accumulation of the rubbish of some millenniums around the sides, must have been much more so. The hill stands like an outpost, projecting into the great maritime plain, and is connected with the low hills behind it, part of the Shephelah, by only a narrow neck. At the foot of the hill a great high road ran from Egypt to Syria; to the north lies the Vale of Ajalon, across which runs the modern carriage road to Jerusalem, and up which ran the great high road, by the Bethhorons, to the plateau north of Jerusalem; to the south lies the Vale of Sorek, where stood Beth-Shemesh (*Ain Shems*), and along which went a great highway from the country of the Philistines to the hill country of Judæa. To-day the Jerusalem-Jaffa railway, after sweeping some miles away in the plain round the whole western and southern sides of the site, passes along this open vale, to plunge into the narrow defile—the *Wady Ism‘in*—which it follows to Jerusalem. From the summit of the *Tell* a vast expanse of country is visible between the long blue line of the Mediterranean to the west and the abrupt and lofty mountains of Judæa to the east. That it has been all through history the scene of military contest is fully understood when its strategic position is appreciated. How it was captured on November 14th, 1917, by a Brigade of our Yeomanry, with a battery of machine guns, is fully described by Mr. Massey in *How Jerusalem was Won*, pp. 120-125.

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[1] Professor Macalister has kindly made several corrections and additions to this article.

Although the excavation of the site shows that it was occupied by a considerable population from an extremely early period the first historical mention is in the list of the Palestinian cities captured by Tahutmes III (XVIIIth Dynasty, about 1500 B.C). From this time it was probably under Egyptian governors (the Egyptian remains at all periods are considerable), but from the Tell el Amarna letters, a century or so later, we learn that Egyptian influence was then on the wane. Three of these famous clay tablets are dated from Gezer itself, and are written in the name of the governor, *Yapaḥi*; he was then hard pressed by the *Ḥabiru*, and he appealed for help in vain to Egypt. In other letters belonging to this series there are references to this city. In one, a certain freebooter named *Lapaya* makes excuses that he had broken into the city. He " has been slandered. Is it an offence that he has entered Gazri and levied the people ? " (number CCXL, Petrie's translation).

In the well-known " Song of Triumph," of Merneptah, who has been considered by some to be the Pharaoh of the Exodus, occurs the expression " Gezer is taken." (In connection with this it is interesting to notice that a portable sundial in ivory, with the cartouches of Meneptah, was unearthed at Gezer.) In the time of Joshua's invasion a certain " king " of Gezer, named Horam (in the LXX, Ailam or Elam) came to the assistance of Lachish against the Israelites, but was slain (Joshua 10, 33). Gezer was taken, but the Canaanites were not driven out, remaining in servitude (Joshua 19, 10; Judges 1, 29). The city became one of the towns on the southern border of Ephraim (Joshua 16, 3), but was assigned to the Kohath clan of the Levites (20, 21). In 2 Sam. 5, 25 (A.V. " Gazer ") we read that David chased the Philistines after their defeat in the Valley of Rephaim " from Geba until thou come to Gezer," showing that this was the frontier of the Philistine territory; and in

1 Chron. 20, 4, it states " there arose war at Gezer with the Philistines : then Sebbecai the Hushathite slew Sippai, of the sons of the giant : and they were subdued." In the corresponding account in 2 Sam. 21, 18, the scene of this event is said to be Gob, which is probably a copyists' error—גוֹב for גזר. According to Josephus (*Ant.* VIII, vi, 1), at the commencement of Solomon's reign Gezer was in the hands of the Philistines, which may explain 1 Kings 9, 16, where it is stated that a certain Pharaoh, whose daughter Solomon married, captured and burnt Gezer, and gave the site to his daughter. Solomon rebuilt it (ver. 17). There are no further references to Gezer during the later Hebrew monarchy, but there are several during the Maccabean period. Judas pursued Gorgius to " Gazara and into the plains of Idumæa and Azotus and Jamnia " (1 Macc. 4, 15) ; Bacchides, after his defeat by Jonathan, " fortified also the city of Bethsura and Gazara and the tower, and put forces in them and provision of victuals " (1 Macc. 9, 52) ; a little later Simon " camped against Gazara and besieged it round about ; he also made an engine of war and set it by the city, and battered a certain tower and took it " (1 Macc. 13, 3) ; after which he purified it (vs. 47, 48). From Josephus (*Ant.* XIII, VIII, 2) we gather that Antiochus had taken Gezer from the Jews.

The governor Alkios, who made the bilingual inscriptions, may come in about this time, or a little later ; the rock inscriptions, of which half-a-dozen are now known, give no information regarding their date.

In the period of the Crusades this site, under the name of " Mont Gisart," was fortified, and gave its name to a family. Here King Baldwin IV gained a victory over Saladin in 1177 ; and in 1191 the latter monarch camped here, while conducting some fruitless negotiations with King Richard. In 1495 a skirmish occurred here between the governor of Jerusalem and certain turbulent Bedouin. The recovered history of Gezer is thus little more than a series of battles and sieges extending over at least 3,000 years ; from the archæological remains we may infer that its history was similar for at least 1,000 years earlier.

In 1902 we—the P.E.F.—obtained a " permit " from the Turkish authorities for the excavation of *Tell el Jezereh*. The whole site was the private property of certain Europeans, whose agent, living much of the time on the *Tell* itself, was himself deeply interested in the excavation, so that conditions were, considering the times, unusually favourable. The work of excavation occupied the greater part of five years, during which some two-thirds of the accumulation over the surface of the mound was turned over, and a large number of tombs, caves, etc., in the neighbourhood were explored.

It was found that the original bare rock surface of the hill was covered with buried remains, making an accumulation ranging in depth from 4 to 40 feet, made up of the débris of all the cities which had stood on the site during three or four thousand years. The excavation revealed nothing later than the Maccabean period, the Christian and Crusading settlements having apparently been off the hill.

The earliest inhabitants were Troglodytes living in the many caves which riddled the hill surface ; they were apparently a non-Semitic race, and there was some evidence that they at least knew of cremation. These people or a race soon after—the earliest Semites—enclosed the hill top with a high earth rampart faced with rough stones—the earliest " wall "—going back at least before 3000 B.C. At an early period—probably about 3000 B.C.—a race with a relatively high civilisation fortified the whole hill top with a powerful and remarkably well-built wall, 14 feet thick, with narrow towers of short projection at intervals of 90 ft. At a point on the south side of this was unearthed a very remarkably massive brick gateway (all the other walls and buildings are of stone) with towers on each side, still standing to the height of 16 feet, but evidently once much higher. This gate showed a strong Egyptian influence at work long before the first historical reference (XVIIIth Dynasty), for both gateway and the wall to which it belonged had been raised at an early date ; the former, indeed, after its destruction, was overlaid by the buildings of a city, which, from its dateable objects—scarabs, etc.—must have belonged to the time of Amenhotep III, *i.e.*, as early as 1500 B.C. The later wall, built, we may conclude, soon after the ruin of the former, and therefore about 1500 B.C., was also a powerful construction, and must have existed considerably over a thousand years, down, indeed, until 100 B.C., at least, where Gezer disappears from history as a fortified site. These walls enclosed a larger area than either of the previous ones.

They show signs of injuries and repairs, at one place extending over a space of 150 feet, and also of the insertion of towers, 28 in number, some of which may be ascribed to Solomon.

This wall must have existed in use through all the history we know of Gezer from Bible sources. When, from the ruined remains we reconstruct in our imagination these mighty ramparts, we need not wonder that the Hebrews, fresh from a nomadic life in the wilderness, found it no easy task to capture cities so fortified as this (Numbers 13, 28; Deut. 1, 28).

The foundations of a powerful building, which was found inserted into a gap in the southern wall, was identified as those of the palace built in the city by Simon Maccabeus (1 Macc. 13, 42), with the help of a Greek graffito scratched on one of the stones, calling down fire from heaven on the "palace of Simon."

Within the city walls the foundations of some seven or eight cities of various successive periods were found superimposed one above the other. The city's best days appear to have been shortly before the time of Joshua; the next perhaps at the time of the Judges. With the period to which we should probably assign the arrival of the Hebrews, there is a great increase of the population, the hitherto inviolate environs of the "temple" being encroached upon by private dwellings—an interesting commentary on Josh. 16, 10.

The great "High Place" which was uncovered is one of unique interest, and its discovery has thrown a flood of light (further increased by later discoveries made elsewhere) upon the religion of the early Canaanites, that religion—"the worship of Baal and Ashteroth"—which was the great rival of the purer religion of the Hebrews. This Baal temple—or *bamoth*—consisted of a row of eight mazzeboth, or rude stone pillars, ranging in height from 5 ft. 5 in. to 10 ft. 9 in., together with a curious trough, which may have been a socket for the '*Asherah*, or some kind of altar, but whose real purpose is quite uncertain. The area around these pillars had a kind of rough floor of consolidated earth under which were found a number of large jars containing infant bones. In close proximity to the "temple" was a double cave, the construction of which strongly suggested that it had been arranged for the giving of oracles. This "high place" had been used for very many centuries; the mazzeboth were not all of one period, but had gradually been increased from one to seven, and an eighth of a more definitely sculptured form—as *simulacrum priapi*—had been added some time later. In the accumulated rubbish around these pillars were found enormous numbers of small stone phallic images, together with pottery plaques of Astarte, made with rude exaggeration of the sexual organs.

Another monument of great interest—and of high antiquity—was the great rock-cut tunnel. It is about 23 ft. high, 13 ft. wide, and descends by 80 steps 94½ feet through the solid rock to a cave in which a spring arises. It is very similar to the great tunnel in Jerusalem, known as "Warren's tunnel and shaft," which was clearly constructed by the early Jebusites to reach the spring of Gihon from within the city walls. This Gezer tunnel must date at least to 2000 B.C.; it is evident from the nature of the accumulated débris which blocked its mouth that it was finally abandoned about 1400 B.C. Its antiquity is confirmed by the fact that it was apparently excavated by flint knives.

At a much later period in history, in that of the Maccabees, the water supply of the city, in time of siege at any rate, was largely dependent upon an enormous open cistern, capable of containing about 2,000,000 gallons of water. Among the smaller "finds" which throw light upon Bible history may be mentioned two much broken cuneiform tablets, both referring to land contracts, which, from the names of the eponyms, can be dated to 651 and 649 B.C. respectively. They, therefore, belong to the last, and one of the greatest, of the Assyrian monarchs, Ashurbanipal, the "noble Osnappar" of Ezra 4, 10, and they show that he was not only a great conqueror, but that he had in Palestine an organised government and that legal civil business was transacted in the language of Assyria.

The excavation of Gezer was carried out during the years 1902-1908. Little was known at that time of the application of archæological method to Palestinian work and the chronology of the local cultures was uncertain and tentative. The stratification of Gezer itself was found to be peculiarly complex. Since those now remote years much advance has been made, and it may be confidently hoped that an investigation of the remaining third of the mound will now prove far more instructive than were the two-thirds which were dug in the pioneer days of Palestinian archæology.

THE RAS SHAMRA TEXTS AND THE OLD TESTAMENT.

By

Theodore Herzl Gaster, B.A.

Much interest has been aroused as to the bearing of the new Ras Shamra tablets upon the Old Testament. The object of the present article is to state as succinctly as possible the results which may fairly be drawn in this connection from the texts so far published. These are based principally upon the writer's own investigations, and it will be understood that at this early stage all conclusions must be treated as somewhat provisional. Whilst the main facts appear to be reasonably certain, modifications of detail will doubtless be required by the progress of research. Points resting upon too large an element of speculation have here been excluded, though it has been deemed proper to mention some alluring possibilities which cannot yet be established as facts.

Speaking generally, the importance of the new texts for Old Testament studies lies in the fact that they present us for the first time with a picture of religious custom and practice in Syro-Palestine before the days of Israel, revealing many of the prototypes of Israelitic institutions and enabling us at once to trace the course of their development and to determine their original meanings which lie behind the later interpretations introduced by "the chosen people." In a word, the Ras Shamra texts are for the cultural history of their period (c. 1400 b.c.) what the Amarna letters are for the political.

Ritual.

The Ritual at Ras Shamra (Ugarit) has many points of similarity with that of the Pentateuchal codes, shewing that however late the literary redaction of those codes may have been, their cultural content is genuinely ancient.

§1. We hear in the texts of the Shelem or "payment-gift," usually rendered "peace-offering" in our versions, of the Asham or "trespass-offering," of the Nph or Te-nuph-ah, *i.e.* the "wave-offering," of the Kalil or "whole burnt-offering," and of the

SARAPH or offering, a part of which only was burned. There is also reference to "an offering for the purification of the soul," recalling the terminology employed in Leviticus, chapter II. in describing sin-offerings: "A soul, if it shall sin . . . (it shall sacrifice so-and-so) . . . and that soul shall be purified." Allusion is also made to "first-fruits-offerings" under the name QDMT, with which we are already familiar from Phoenician inscriptions. We also hear of the MATTANAT lit. "gift," which recurs in Exodus xx. 26, 31, 39 and which properly denotes a "tribute" such as was paid by vassals to their overlords (Cp. Psalm lxviii. 14, and Assyrian mandattu).

§2. An interesting fact concerning sacrifices at Ras Shamra is that they are often regarded in the form of taxes and levies, the same terms being used to describe them as are elsewhere employed in a strictly political sense. Thus, we hear of the KABOD or "gift of homage," which is the Minean KABUDAT or "tax," of the MAN or "portion,"—a term similarly employed on the altar at Gizeh and properly denoting "tithe," and possibly also of the ʻSR or "tenth part," which is the Biblical "MAʻASER" usually rendered "tithe." So much has been written recently concerning the basic theory of sacrifice among the Semites that it is interesting to see that at Ras Shamra at any rate a "gift-theory" prevailed. It will be recalled that G. B. Gray proved the same thing true of the Israelitic system.

§3. The temple-staff at Ras Shamra consisted of the KOHEN who was probably more of a soothsayer than a priest, and of the ʼNŠ ELIM or "man of God"—a term recurring in Phoenician and Elephantine texts. This was the sacristan proper. Special gifts, usually of fowl, had to be brought for him over and above the offerings to the gods, and in one text we seem to hear of his ḤLQAT or "portion," a word used in connection with the Levites in the Pentateuch. There were also a number of BʻLT BHTM or "ladies of the chapels," who were the sacred harlots corresponding to the Biblical QEDESHOT. They were also called, as in Egypt, "wives of God" (ʼST EL; cp. Egyptian HM.T NṮR) and, as in Babylonia, "brides" (KLT).

§4. Of special interest is a rite mentioned in one of the longer texts which provides the pantomime for the autumn harvest-festival.

Here a kid is seethed in its mother's milk as a charm to promote dairy-produce. This at last explains why in Exodus xxiii. 19; xxxiv. 26 (both JE) the prohibition against this rite is associated with harvest-ritual,—a connection long obscure, and it confirms the conjecture of N. Schmidt (*J.B.L.* xlv. 278n.) that this was a fertility-rite.

§5. In one text which describes how a man goes to seek aid from the Sun-goddess in respect of a friend's illness, mention is made of the 'SR 'SRM or "sacred place of the sacred places" (Cp. Assyr. *ashru ;* South-Arab. *aṯar*) as being the innermost part of the sanctuary. This answers exactly to the Hebrew QODESH HAQQODASHIM or "Holy of Holies." We also hear of the ḤAẔER or "sacred courtyard" as in Hebrew and South-Arabian, and of the ḤMT or "sacred enclosure" which is the familiar Arabic *ḥima.*

§6. The temple at Ras Shamra was sanctuary and the institution of the "stranger within thy gates," or "guest of God" (Arabic *jar Allah*) was recognised. One of our texts is a treaty of alliance between the people of Ugarit and their neighbours, including the Hittites, Horites, and Cypriotes (Alashians). In this text certain enemies are formally excluded from the right of asylum and are regarded as "banished" (*naphuy*), so that neither they nor their womenfolk can be "strangers of the sacred enclosure" (*gr ḥmt*).

§7. Another object of great interest is that called ʿED. Sacrifices could be placed on it, so that it was a kind of table-stone. Moreover sacred women danced round it (*nqpt ʿed*). I therefore identify it with what in South-Arabian cultus is called the QAIF or "stone of circuit," used as an altar and ritually circumambulated. We have a parallel in the pre-Islamic DAWWAR around which the ṭawwaf or "circular dance" was celebrated. The stone was called ʿED or "Witness" because, like the Qaif, oaths were sworn beside it. One recalls the many "stones of testimony" all over Palestine and Arabia (v. Peters, *Early Hebrew Story*, p. 118; JPOS iv. 75ff; Frazer FOT ii. 403ff) and especially the ʿEDAH or "stone of witness" set up by Joshua after the crossing of the Jordan (Jos. xxiv. 27).

Now, it is possible that in this ʿED lies the real origin of the Biblical ʿEDUTH. This term is used in many places to denote some special object in the sanctuary. It is also called more fully

"Ark of the 'Eduth" which identifies it with the "Ark of the Covenant," but the fact that 'EDUTH could be used alone may point to an earlier usage. It is conceivable that the "Ark of the 'EDUTH" was the sacred chest containing a portable "stone of testimony" carried about by a nomadic people. Later, under the influence of the fact that "tablet of 'eduth" (*luaḥ 'eduth*) was a current term (like the Assyrian *tuppê adi*) for a "contract-tablet," the view would not unnaturally grow up that what the chest really contained was a stone inscribed by the god with the terms of his contract with the people.

§8. It has long been realised that the Israelitic "Feast of Booths" in celebration of the autumn Ingathering, was a reinterpretation in the light of their own (assumed) history of an earlier harvest-festival. Various theories have been propounded to account for the booths, the latest being that of Professor Oesterley, who would see in them the bowers of the "sacred marriage" which may have been celebrated at this feast. The Ras Shamra texts suggest another explanation. We there hear that as a feature of the Ingathering-festival the gods were entertained by their worshippers and "coverts" or "booths" were erected to protect them from the sun. These are termed MṢLLM or "booths"—a term harmonising with the Aramaic MIṬLALA by which the Hebrew "SUKKAH" or "booth" is regularly translated in the ancient Targumin of the Bible. Here then we have an early Syro-Palestinian "Festival of Booths" in connection with the Ingathering.

MYTHS AND BELIEFS.

§9. The mythological texts are not yet all published, and there is, so M. Virolleaud tells me, a great deal to come. Of special interest is the mention in one of them of the deity YO-ELAT (perhaps, more correctly, YAW-ELAT), in which the first element equates with JAH, the earlier form out of which JHVH (Jehovah, Yahweh) evolved. The god is, I think, one of those bisexual amalgams like MALIK-ASHART or ESHMUN-ASHART of the Phoenician inscriptions, in which YA and the goddess ELAT have been fused. We know that YA was an early synonym of BAAL in Amurru where Ras Shamra lies.

§10. Interesting also is the reference, in an unpublished text, to Leviathan as the "fleeing serpent and the crooked serpent" with seven heads, harmonising with Isaiah xxvi. 1 and Psalm lxxiv. 14.

§11. Another unpublished text refers to a war in the Negeb in which feature, *inter alios*, the two peoples Zebulun and Asher, shewing that these were early Palestinian tribes later embraced within the confederacy of Israel, and therefore regarded as "sons of Israel (Jacob)." The name Zebulun occurs as that of a Palestinian tribe as early as 2300 BC., whilst in Asher I am tempted to see the southern Ashur of the South-Arabian inscriptions whom Hommel and Winckler have detected in many passages of O.T. where the meaning "Assyria" will not fit. There is also mention of a people called the Kshrim—also referred to on old Egyptian texts and living in the south. Are these perhaps the Geshurim of Joshua xiii. 2; 1 Samuel xxvii. 8, and distinct from the northern people of the same name (Jos. xiii. 13; 2 Sam. iii. 3, etc.)?

§12. Another text refers to the dead as the Rephaim, exactly as in the Old Testament (Is. xiv. 9; xxiv. 14, etc.). These, of course, are quite distinct from the Rephaim or "Giants" of Deut. ii. 11, etc., and should not be confused, as they have been by one popularizer of Ras Shamra results.

§13. We also have in Ras Shamra texts a parallel to the Hebrew belief that the gods dwell in the "recesses of the North" in the heart of the seas. In Isaiah xiv. 13 "Lucifer" exclaims: "I will soar into heaven, and set my throne above the stars of God; I will dwell on the Mount of Assembly, in the hinterland of the North," whilst in Ezekiel xxviii. 2 the "prince of Tyre" will sit "in the seat of the gods, in the heart of the seas." At Ras Shamra the gods dwell on the horizon (*aphq*) where the heavenly and earthly oceans meet, at a place whither all rivers flow (*mbk nhrm*), in the very "navel" (*ṣrrt*) of the North.

§14. The heavenly family are called the "sons of El" as in Hebrew folklore; cp. Psalm xxix. 1 and Ps. lxxxix. 6, in both of which passages E.V. spoils the point by paraphrasing "mighty."

§15. Space forbids the citation of further parallels, especially those of a philological character.

It should be remarked only in conclusion that these coincidences and similarities stand in a yet more remarkable light if our view (*Q.S.*, April, 1934) be accepted that the Semitic element of Ras Shamra culture is ultimately of Negebite or Muẕrian provenance, for according to the tradition of Israel, the cult of Yahweh and many of its early institutions originated in precisely that region. Accordingly, though found in the north of Syria, the texts would really reveal to us the civilisation of those Midianites, Moabites, Ishmaelites, etc., of the South among whom the federation of Israel grew up and in the traditions of which the constituent tribes must have been nurtured.

THE MEANING OF THE NAME HAMMOTH-DOR.

By D. Winton Thomas.

In a recent number of this Journal,[1] I suggested that the meaning of the name En-dor was "well of encircling," and that the name preserved a reminiscence of the ritual dance which may have been performed at one time round the well. It is possible that the place-name Hammoth-dor (חַמֹּת דֹּאר), occurring only in Josh. 21, 32, is to be explained similarly.

Assuming that דֹּאר is to be translated "encircling,"[2] the first element of the compound חַמֹּת דֹּאר is capable of two interpretations, according to the root from which it may be supposed to be derived. The place-name Hamath on the Orontes is derived by Robertson Smith[3] from a root חמי, which is unused in Biblical Hebrew,[4] but which may be supposed to mean "to protect, guard," as a comparison with the Arabic حَمَى (ḥamā) shows[5] (hence חוֹמָה "wall," as *protection*).[6] From this root حَمَى "is derived *ḥima*, a sacred enclosure or *temenos*."[7] If the first element in חַמֹּת דֹּאר be connected with this root, the name will mean "sacred enclosure of encircling," *i.e.*, a sacred spot or sanctuary where ritual dancing or circumambulation was at one time performed.[8]

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[1] October, 1933, pp. 205–6.

[2] *Ibid.*, where the philological argument for דאר "encircling" may be found.

[3] *Religion of the Semites*, 3rd ed. (ed. S. A. Cook), p. 150, and footnote 2; see also Brown-Driver-Briggs, *Hebr. Lex.*, p. 333.

[4] Brown-Driver-Briggs, *op. cit.*, p. 327.

[5] Lane, *Arab.-Eng. Lex.*, 651 حمى "prohibit, protect, defend, guard"; cf. Hava, *Arab.-Eng. Dict.*, p. 145—and derivatives *ad loc.* In Neo-Syriac ܚܡܐ means *custodivit*, see Payne Smith, *Thes. Syr.*, vol. 1, p. 1302, and derivatives *ad loc.*; cf. C. Brockelmann, *Lex. Syr.* (2nd ed.), p. 239. In later Hebrew חמי, originally "to surround guard," means "to observe, see" (Jastrow, *Dict. of the Targ., etc.*, p. 476).

[6] Brown-Driver-Briggs, *op. cit.*, p. 327.

[7] W. Robertson Smith, *op. cit.*, *loc. cit.*

[8] For the circuit round the sanctuary, see W. O. E. Oesterley, *The Sacred Dance*, p. 94f.

It is possible, however, that חַמֹּת דֹּאר is to be identified with the place-names חַמַּת (only in Josh. 19, 35) and חַמֹּן (1 Chron. 6, 61). Both these names may be derived from חמם "to be hot," and both perhaps mean "hot spring."[9] Should חַמֹּת דֹּאר be interpreted in the same way, the name will mean "hot springs of encircling." That hot springs are to this day in Palestine regarded as in some way sacred (their heat and curative powers being attributed to the activity of an indwelling spirit) is well known.[10] It is not impossible then that the name perpetuates the custom of the sacred dance which may have been performed round the waters as part of the ritual done in honour of the spirit who was invoked to keep up the fire and heat the waters. Whichever derivation we may prefer for חַמֹּת, the connection between encircling and a sacred spot on the one hand, and with sacred waters on the other, constitutes perhaps sufficient ground for seeing in this place-name another relic of the sacred dance in ancient Israel.

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[9] So Brown-Driver-Briggs, *op. cit.*, p. 329. The Talmudic place-name חַמְּתָה, חַמְּתָא is said also to mean "hot springs" (Jastrow, *op. cit.*, p. 481; cf. Levy, *Neuhebr. u. Chald. Wörterb.*, II, p. 69f). The Arabic root حَمَّ (*ḫamma*) "become hot" (of water) is very common—in the fourth and tenth forms it means "to wash with hot water"; حَمَّةٌ means a "hot spring by means of which the diseased seek to cure themselves," and حَمَّام means "a hot bath" (Lane, *op. cit.*, p. 635F). In Syriac ܚܡܡ means *caluit*, ܡܚܡܡܬܐ "thermæ, aquæ calidæ, balneum," and ܡܚܡܡܬܐ is given as "*nom. loci prope Sebabarcham sic dicti forte propter aquas calidas*" (Payne Smith, *op. cit.*, I, p. 1296f).

[10] See S. I. Curtiss, *Primitive Semitic Religion To-day*, p. 89, who refers to the hot springs of Callirhoe as to-day being "regarded as being under the control of a saint (*weli*) or spirit (*jinn*), who makes the fire and keeps it burning" (see notes *ad loc.*). Josephus calls the hot springs of Tiberias Ἀμμαθοῦς "which is perhaps Hammath (*i.e.*, 'the Hot Spring')," A. Bertholet, *A History of Hebrew Civilization*, p. 18; Joseph. *B.J.* IV, 11, *Antiq.*, XVIII, 36, ed. Niese. Further on the hot springs of Tiberias, see G. A. Smith, *Historical Geography of the Holy Land*, p. 450f.

AGRICULTURE AND FORESTRY IN PALESTINE.

C. F. C.

By the courtesy of the Director of the Department of Agriculture and Forests we have received the report of his Department for the years 1931 and 1932. The report is a substantial production of some 240 foolscap pages. It contains much tabular matter, which is chiefly of value to the expert: but the non-expert reader will also find something to interest him in this publication. The subjects reported upon are agriculture, horticulture, entomology, fisheries, veterinary services, and forestry, a wide field. It is mentioned in the introduction that early in 1932 the Fishery Service was abolished on the ground of economy; the department is thus left with five main services to deal with.

The years June, 1930 to May, 1931, and June, 1931 to May, 1932, were marked by a great deficiency in rainfall. With the solitary exception of Beersheba the rainfall was everywhere much below the average. Thus, in the year 1931-1932, the total rainfall at the four main stations was :—

Jaffa ... 278 mm., or 11 inches ; the average being 483 mm., or 18 inches.
Jerusalem ... 325 mm., or 13 inches ; the average being 650 mm., or 26 inches.
Gaza ... 282 mm., or 11 inches ; the average being 379 mm., or 15 inches.
Beersheba ... 301 mm., or 12 inches ; the average being 178 mm., or 7 inches.

It will be observed that the rainfall at Jerusalem was only half the normal.

It is recorded that at Beisan, so well-known to archæologists, the shade temperature rose to 40.5° C., that is, to 114° Fahrenheit; hot enough but not strikingly hot in comparison with the temperatures at, let us say, Jacobabad or certain other fiery spots.

A menace of grave magnitude is recorded for 1931. " Field mice in large numbers invaded vast areas and threatened to overwhelm the unfortunate farmers, already struggling against adversity." And again in 1932, " Favourable weather conditions (that is, favourable to the field mice), and lack of rain, gave rise to a considerable increase in the field mice population." Special campaigns were waged against this plague, costing a considerable sum, more than £6,000 in materials alone.

Generally speaking, during the two years under review the crops were below the average. In 1931-32 it is reported that " the olive crop was very poor and nowhere was more than one-quarter of a normal crop harvested."

An interesting paragraph is the following: " The Agricultural Stations have included in their work the introduction and trial of new crops, cultivation and fertilizer experiments, crop rotation trials, times of planting experiments, and, above all, crop seed selection, trials and propagation. The value of the seed selection work is best testified by the fact that the demand for any approved seeds available for distribution is invariably greater than the supply." And again, " Perhaps the most important feature of extension work and certainly the one giving the most far reaching results, at present, is the distribution of improved seeds." Wheat and barley are specially mentioned in this connection.

As to fruits, it appears that 3,500,000 of cases of oranges were exported in 1932, as compared with 2,500,000 in 1931. The next most important item being over a 100,000 cases of grape fruits in 1932. The excess of agricultural exports over agricultural imports in 1932 amounted to £P.696,000, a sum twice as large as that noted for 1931. The Entomological Service chiefly devoted its attention to the citrus industry, this being the most important in the country.

Eighteen forest reserves were proclaimed, bringing the total number of these reserves to 220, with an area of 270 square miles which is about one-fortieth of the entire area of the country. Mention is made of the necessity for the protection of forest vegetation, for the reafforestation of the upper slopes in the hill country, and the employment of counter-erosion measures, to prevent serious damage by rain to cultivation on the hill sides.

This report gives the impression of varied and thorough work carried out by a scientific department whose activities will have much influence on the future well-being of Palestine.

REVIEWS AND NOTICES OF PUBLICATONS.

Ancient Synagogues in Palestine and Greece, By E. L. Sukenik. (Schweich Lectures, Oxf. Univ. Press, 7s. 6d.)

This volume contains, in substance, the lectures delivered by Dr. Sukenik in 1930 ; the form is somewhat different, for, as the writer says, " a greater discursiveness must largely take the place of ocular demonstration "—the lectures were illustrated by lantern slides—on the other hand, " a reference which the reader may look up at his leisure can often suffice where some explanation is indispensable to an audience of listeners." As the book is beautifully and sufficiently illustrated, this written form with its " greater discursiveness," is to be welcomed perhaps even more than the lectures.

In discussing the origin and significance of the Synagogue, Sukenik mentions the fact that the earliest remains of a synagogue in Palestine, so far discovered, are not earlier than the first century of our era, whereas synagogue remains in the lands of the Dispersion are considerably older ; in Egypt as early as the third century B.C., in Greece as early as the second century B.C. This tends to bear out what M. Friedländer maintained long ago, viz., that the earliest synagogues originated in Egypt, and that they were unknown in Palestine during the Maccabean era (*circa* 175-125 B.C.).[1] During the last few years however, our knowledge concerning ancient synagogues both in Palestine and in lands of the Dispersion has been greatly increased, and certain facts of an astonishing character have come to light.

A complete list of the ruins of ancient synagogues in Palestine so far discovered is the following : The largest number are situated in Galilee, namely, in Capernaum, Chorazin, Kafr Bir'im, Beth Alpha in the valley of Esdraelon, Semmaka, ' Esfia (both these latter on Mt. Carmel), and Ḥammath-by-Gadara. Two in Transjordania, at ed-Dikkeh and Jerash. One only has been discovered in the south of Palestine, viz., that in Na'aran, near Jericho. These are all described by Dr. Sukenik. In addition he gives descriptions of four in various parts of Greece.

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[1] *Synagoge und Kirche in ihren Anfängen,* pp. 53ff. (1908).

Delos—here there are the remains of one of the earliest synagogues yet unearthed; they belong to the second century B.C.; this island is mentioned in I Macc. xv. 23 as one of the places, the authorities of which were bidden by Lucius, "consul of the Romans," to deliver up any "pestilent fellows" who had fled from their country in fear of Simon the Maccabee; the reference here is to hellenistic Jews.

Miletus—in this case again we have an early record of the existence of a synagogue, the ruins of which have now been discovered; Josephus quotes a letter from the proconsul of Asia directing the authorities of Miletus not to prohibit the Jews from celebrating their sabbaths and from performing their sacred rites (*Antiq.* xiv. 244 ff.), an obvious reference to synagogue worship.

Priene—the synagogal remains in this Ionian city, like the previous ones, were discovered a number of years ago; they exhibit all the features of the more ancient synagogues unearthed.

Aegina—the interesting ruins of the synagogue in this little island off the Piraeus was one of the first to be discovered in Greek lands.

Quite recently (1831), in excavating the ancient thermal baths at *Stobi*, near Monastir, in Yugoslavia, Dr. Jozo Petrovic discovered the remains of a synagogue which Dr. Sukenik dates about the end of the fourth century of our era; its plan was reminiscent of that of the Beth Alpha synagogue. The special interest of this discovery lay in the long Greek inscription of Achyrios the "Father of the synagogue at Stobi."

Finally, there is the remarkable find of the ruins of the ancient synagogue at Dura Europos,[2] on the right bank of the Euphrates, on the road leading from Aleppo to Baghdad.

Of the many subjects of interest dealt with by Dr. Sukenik in his descriptions of all these ruins, space permits of only two to be referred to here, the frescoes and mosaics, and the inscriptions.

In view of the stringent prohibition in Deut. v. 8 and elsewhere ("Thou shalt not make unto thee a graven image, (nor) the likeness (*temunah*) of anything in heaven above, or in the earth below . . . "), it is somewhat astonishing to find the abundant remains of such

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[2] See especially Lietzmann, in the *Zeitschrift für d. NT Wissenschaft* (1933), pp. 94f., and Clark Hopkins in *Illustrated London News*, for July, 1933.

"likenesses" of things in the heavens, and both men and things on the earth, among the ruins of all these synagogues. The scenes depicted are mostly events in Old Testament history, such as the sacrifice of Isaac, Moses at the burning bush, Daniel in the lion's den, etc ; but more strange are the representations of the signs of the Zodiac ; thus, for example, in the synagogue at Na'aran there is in the centre of these surrounding signs a figure driving a quadriga, representing the sun ; the signs of the Zodiac all have Hebrew names, while at the four corners are four symbolic figures of the four seasons of the year. Similarly in the Beth Alpha synagogue, but in a much finer state of preservation, these signs are represented on the mosaic floor. As Dr. Sukenik remarks, these representations of the Zodiac were connected with superstition, for the belief in astrology was universal in ancient times ; "striking proofs," he reminds us, "of the importance attached to the constellations (*mazzaloth*) in the belief of the Jews are Philo's interpretation of the twelve stones of the High Priest's breastplate (which the Pentateuch itself declares to be the emblems of the twelve tribes of Israel) as symbols of the twelve signs of the Zodiac ; and Josephus' similar explanation[3] of the twelve loaves of bread in the Tabernacle. . . ."

Of inscriptions there is a considerable number, Hebrew, Aramaic and Greek ; of those in Palestine the majority are Aramaic, the vernacular, those in Greek are also fairly numerous, while the Hebrew ones are only few in number. They deal mostly with names of donors of the building, upon whom a blessing is usually added. For example, the Hebrew inscription of the Kafr Bir'im synagogue runs : "May there be peace in this place and in all the places of Israel. Jose the Levite, the son of Levi, made this lintel. May blessing come upon his deeds. Peace."[4] In the synagogue of Dura Europos there is a picture of Moses leading the Israelites out of Egypt underneath which is an Aramaic inscription : "Moses going out from Egypt." Of particular interest here is another Aramaic inscription in which the date of the building is given, i.e., 244 A.D. ; and a Greek inscription mentions Samuel the priest as "Presbyter of the Jews." These are but a few examples of many.

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[3] In *Bell. Jud.* v. 218.

[4] See, further, Dussaud, *Les monuments palestiniens et judaïques*, pp. 85f. (1912)

Warm thanks are due to Dr. Sukenik for this intensely interesting and instructive book; its value is further enhanced by the many plans and illustrations, and especially by about twenty beautiful plates. O.E.W.O.

The Archaeology of Herod's Temple. By the Rev. F. J. Hollis, D.D., F.K.C. With thirty plans. London: J. M. Dent & Sons, Ltd. 1934. 18s. net.

This is an attempt to co-ordinate the results of the surface survey and the excavations made at the temple site with the account of the Temple given by Josephus and that given in the Mishna tractate *Middôth.* Dr. W. O. E. Oesterley writes in the "Foreword," "One great merit of Dr. Hollis's work is that it presents a genuine effort to reach a reconciliation between these apparently irreconcilable sources; indeed it is perhaps not too much to say that he has solved the problem." Dr. Hollis is able to bring to the solution of the difficult problem a knowledge of mathematics and of engineering—as is shown by the "admirable illustrative plates"—which immensely increase the value of his work.

Part I is devoted to "a study of the site." Here we have a masterly summary of the result of that extraordinarily brilliant exploratory work which is chiefly associated with the names of Sir Charles Warren and Sir Charles Wilson. Their *Recovery of Jerusalem* and *Survey of Western Palestine* should be read alongside this part of Dr. Hollis's book. Part II gives a suggestion, "Reconstruction of the Buildings and Courts of the Temple Hill" and Part III is a new translation of the tractate *Middôth* with a very full commentary.

To most readers it is the conclusions in Part II which will chiefly appeal. Only a few of them can here be touched upon. Dr. Hollis accepts as fundamental that the holiest part of the temple, and not the great altar, was built over the Sacred Rock. Indeed the sacred rock is, to him, the pivot of the whole temple system.

The Temple Hill before the time of Herod was not completely surrounded by lofty walls, in fact it lay exposed on three sides. The east wall was the only one which protected and screened the Temple Hill and this somewhere to the south of the existing Golden

Gate turned westwards as part of the city wall along the southern edge of the Kidron Ravine—Herod's north wall was south of the Kidron Ravine and approximately at right angles to the existing east and west walls, it was situated a little to the north of the present northern limit of the Platform of the Rock. The present positions of the south-west angle and of the western walls are on the lines of Herod's reconstructions. The existing "Double" and "Triple" Gateways were very ancient twin double gateways, which gave entrance through the south wall and led by long inclines to the level of the Haram. On the west besides the approach over Robinson's Arch there were at least three, and probably four, gateways which gave entrance through Herod's western wall. Two more ancient approaches by well defined rock-cut road, causeway and rock-cut canal can still be traced deep beneath the ruins of Robinson's and Wilson's arches respectively.

A fascinating and controversial point is the question of the axis of the three temples. Dr. Hollis maintains that the axis of Soloman's temple was on a line between the second rock and the summit of the Mount of Olives at exactly right-angles to the existing eastern wall of the Haram and that this line had originally a connection with sun worship. On the other hand the axis of the two later temples (Zerubbabel's and Herod's) was deliberately put on a new line, namely, one running due east and west and at right-angles to the existing eastern boundary of the platform of the rock. What will strike "the casual observer" as strange is that by this arrangement we get a plan of the temple and its courts askew (in the plans very askew) to the enclosing walls of the sanctuary. Dr. Hollis suggests that may have existed "without anything incongruous being noticeable in that arrangement." His arguments on this point, on the reconstruction of the altar in Zerubbabel's Temple and on the arrangements of the outer Courts, and particularly of the "Women's Court," are well worthy of consideration.

We are hoping to hear him in three lectures which he promises to give on the subject of the Temple in the early autumn at our headquarters and a careful study of this work would be the best preparation for intelligently following the forthcoming lectures.

E.W.G.M.

D. Sidersky, *Les Origines des Légendes Musulmanes dans le Coran et dans les Vies des Prophètes.* Paris, Geuthner, 1933. 8vo, pp. viii, 160. Price, 100 francs.

In this volume M. Sidersky, following in the wake of Geiger, Weil, Hirschfeld and others, assembles the Jewish parallels to Biblical legends recounted in the Coran and in the Lives of the Prophets. The material is arranged in sections, extending from Adam to Mary Magdalene, and the presentation is at once interesting and attractive.

Nevertheless, the work is something of a scholastic tragedy for, apparently unknown to the learned author, the bulk of it has already been done by Dähnhardt in the first volume of his Natursagen (1907), whilst most of the rabbinic material has been assembled by M. Gaster in his " Chronicles of Jerahmeel " (1899).

Moreover, the view that these stories are of Jewish origin is seriously challenged by the fact that many of them occur already in early Samaritan literature where Jewish influence can almost certainly be excluded. The Samaritan parallels are adduced by M. Gaster in his " Asatir of Moses " (1927) and suggest that the stories are rather to be regarded as part of a popular tradition which flowed down through Jewish, Arabic and Samaritan channels independently.

The following supplementary material may perhaps be of use to readers of M. Sidersky's eminently serviceable volume. Even though the work has been done before, the author's care and labour deserve our gratitude, and he has certainly presented it in a methodical manner which will render it especially convenient for students.

Adam created from four winds : the legends cited concerning the size of Adam are irrelevant ; the true parallel is Orac. Sibyll. iii, 25 ; *vide* Geffcken in loc. Also in Midrash Konen.

Description of Paradise : Jerahmeel vii ; Tanhuma ed Buber, i. fol. 58b ; Pesiqta de Rab Kahana f. 37b.

Adam as prophet : he foretells Flood in Asatir ii, 17 ; Meshalma 137b ; Josephus, Ant. 1, 2, 3. (70).

Samael sends serpent to Eve : Latin Historia Adae ; Jerah. xxii, 2 ; On the serpent-motif, vide now Montgomery, JAOS, 1933, p. 283.

Animals silenced at expulsion of Adam: Asatir i, 20; Meshalma 125a; Apoc. Mosis 2; Vita Adae 22, 4.

Cain and Abel's offering in Nisan: Asatir i, 8; Marqaḥ 37a; Pal. Targum Genesis iv, 3.

Harut and Marut (fallen angels): v. Jung, Fallen Angels in Jewish Literature (originally printed in JQR).

Nimrod casts Abraham into furnace: Jashar xi, 15—xii; Midrash Decalogue, Precept II.

Nimrod builder of Babel: Asatir iv, 32; Josephus, Ant. I. 4, 2 (114); Meshalma 171b.; Pirqe de R. Eliezer ch. 29; Seder Haddoroth p. 26.

Pharaoh plagued because of insults to Sarah: Asatir vi, 15 and Pitron in loc.; Meshalma 197a.

Coffin of Joseph sunk in Nile: Deut. Rabba xi; Jerah. li, 2-3; in Jerahmeel it is simply a "brook," *i..o*, the writer took the word "nakhal" in a general sense and not as meaning "Nile."

Pharaoh's dream about Moses: Jerah. pp. lxxxviiff.

Rod of Moses: Syriac Book of the Bee ch. 30.

Pharaoh says he creates the Nile (p. 85): I think this goes back to the Egyptian idea that the Pharaoh causes the annual inundation; on this v. Drioton in the journal Egyptian Religion, 1933, Pt. II.

Moses and Khadir v. R. C. Temple's essay on Khadir in Folklore Soc. Jubilee Volume.

Bileam attempts to seduce Israel with pretty Moabite women: already in Asatir x, 18-9; Josephus, Ant. IV, 6, 6 (129); Ps. Philo xviii, 3; Sifre, par. 131 (ed. Friedmann); Pal. Targ. Numb. xxiv, 14.

On Solomon legends v. St. John Seymour, Tales of King Solomon, London, 1924, which contains rich material.

Alexander shuts People within Walls against invasion by Gog and Magog: I find an allusion to this in Jerahmeel xxxi, 4.

THEODOR HERZL GASTER.

TRANSLITERATION OF HEBREW AND ARABIC CONSONANTS.

HEBREW.

HEBREW.	ENGLISH.		HEBREW.	ENGLISH.
א	’		כ	k̲h̲
בּ	b		ל	l
ב	b̲h̲		מ	m
גּ	g		נ	n
ג	g̲h̲		ס	s
דּ	d		ע	ʻ
ד	d̲h̲		פּ	p
ה	h		פ	f
ו	v, w		צ	z̲
ז	z		ק	k̲
ח	h̲		ר	r
ט	t̲		שׁ	s̲h̲
י	y		שׂ	s̲
כּ	k		תּ	t
			ת	t̲h̲

ARABIC.

ARABIC.	ENGLISH.		ARABIC.	ENGLISH.
ا	’		ض	d̲
ب	b		ط	t̲
ت	t		ظ	t̲z̲
ث	t̲h̲		ع	ʻ
ج	g	or j in Syrian Arabic.	غ	g̲h̲
ح	h̲		ف	f
خ	k̲h̲		ق	k̲
د	d		ك	k
ذ	d̲h̲		ل	l
ر	r		م	m
ز	z		ن	n
س	s		ه	h
ش	s̲h̲		و	w
ص	z̲		ي	y

Long vowels marked thus:—ā, ē, ī, ō, ū.

THE
PALESTINE EXPLORATION FUND.

NOTES AND NEWS.

The exhibition of antiquities from Tell Duweir found by the Wellcome Archæological Research Expedition to the Near East, held during the summer in the new rooms of the Palestine Exploration Fund at 2, Hinde Street, was a great success. It was extraordinarily well arranged and organized, and the attendance was greatly in advance of the attendance at the previous exhibition held last year. The time was extended in order to cover the sessions of the International Anthropological and Ethnological Congress, and many of the delegates to the Congress visited the Exhibition. Much interest was shown in the restored ewer and its inscription which has attracted the attention of scholars, and concerning which two important contributions will be found in the present issue of the *Quarterly Statement.*

The third year's work on the Tell Duweir site will begin in October, and if the arrangements for expropriation are concluded in time it is hoped to start immediately on the removal of the ruins of the Persian residency, and the examination of the Jewish palace-fort below. The lower levels of the temples will have to be cleared and the adjoining deposits of Temple and Tell débris excavated to bedrock, which should expose a further area of the Hyksos revetment. It is also hoped to take another section of the early Copper Age city, where some rock caverns have already been cleared.

The monthly LECTURES AT THE ROOMS OF THE PALESTINE EXPLORATION FUND which proved a great success last year will be continued this year. The first two lectures will be given by the Rev. Dr. F. J. Hollis, of King's College, on Friday, October 19th, and November 2nd, at 5 p.m., on *The Archæology of Herod's Temple.* The third lecture will be on Friday, December 7th, at 5 p.m., on the subject of *Ancient Warfare,* by Professor S. H. Hooke. The lectures will be illustrated by lantern slides.

A small EXHIBITION OF ANTIQUITIES, arranged by Mr. J. W. Crowfoot, illustrating the recent EXCAVATIONS AT SAMARIA, is on view at the rooms of the Fund, 2, Hinde Street. W1.

A series of lectures on *The Age of the Patriarchs* will be given at King's College, beginning on Tuesday, October 9th, at 5.30 p.m. The first lecture will be delivered by Professor S. A. Cook. Members of the Palestine Exploration Fund and their friends are invited. The dates and subjects of each lecture are as follows :—

October 9.—" The External Environment of Canaan. Foreign Influences. Canaanite Civilization. Evidence of Excavations and Monuments." By Professor S. A. Cook, M.A., Litt.D.

October 16.—" The Religion of the Patriarchs. Early Canaanite Religion and Ritual. The Significance of the Ras Shamra Texts." By Professor S. H. Hooke, M.A.

October 23.—" The Religious Ideas of the Patriarchal Period. The After-Life. Nature of the Deity. Social Structure. Value of the Hebrew Documentary Sources." By the Rev. Professor W. O. E. Oesterley, D.D.

October 30.—" Sacrifice and its Place in the Ritual Pattern. Early Kingship." By the Rev. Professor E. O. James, D.D.

The Fund was also represented at the International Congress of Anthropological and Ethnological Sciences held in London last month. Professor S. A. Cook, late editor of the *Quarterly Statement*, read a paper on *The development of magico-religious ideas in the ancient Near East*, and described the progress from what are the problems of Anthropology and Ethnology to those of modern Religion, Theology and Philosophy.

In the first volume of the sumptuous monograph on his twelve years' labours at Ur, Mr. Woolley has an important discussion of the question of human sacrifice and its relation to the sacred marriage in connection with the burial of Queen Shubad, and refutes some of Professor Böhl's statements in the *Zeitschrift für Assyriologie*. The subject is also discussed in the current issue of *Antiquity* in connection with the early Hebrew custom of the firstborn sacrifice, a custom which is clearly attested by the evidence of the Book of the Covenant.

The remains of an extinct species of elephant have recently been discovered in the course of digging a well at Bethlehem. This is the first time that such remains have been discovered in Palestine, and it will be of interest to see if this find has any connection with fauna of so-called African type found in several Palestinian caves associated with a Mousterian culture and human remains. A detailed description of the remains will shortly be published.

The excavations at Ras Shamra continue to yield exciting results. The most remarkable find of the last year's activities consisted of two gold vessels, a cup and a patera, both richly ornamented with embossed decoration. Hunting and ritual scenes are depicted with a boldness and skill which at once suggest the general style of the magnificent Vaphio cup. The discoverer says: "The discussion of the origin of these motives would take us into the field of the arts of all the surrounding countries, Mycenæ, Egypt, Cyprus Assyria and Chaldea, to say nothing of the original part played by the art of Phenicia or Syria. It must suffice us here to say that the cup seems to be a product of local art. We know from the discovery of many moulds, unfinished statuettes, hoards of precious metals in the form of ingots or of objects intended to be re-smelted, how highly developed was the jeweller's craft in ancient Ras Shamra." The whole trend of discovery in Palestine and Syria in recent years tends to prove that the level of artistic achievement in this cultural area was much higher than was formerly believed to be the case.

Dr. Frankfort's discoveries at Tell Asmar also continue to yield highly significant results. The seals published in the third report of his work there are of the utmost importance for the history of ancient myth and ritual, and are especially valuable as establishing the early connection between myth and ritual, since the pictorial details furnished by these seals supplement the information contained in early ritual texts. One seal of particular interest represents a fertility god or king destroying a seven-headed Hydra, indicating the source of the myth of Hercules as the slayer of the Hydra.

Interesting results have been obtained by the Archæological Survey Expedition, under Dr. Nelson Glueck, which has been exploring the Trans-Jordan region and investigating the question of the ancient boundary of Edom. Important light on the date of the Exodus has been thrown by the discoveries made in the course of the expedition. It furnishes an interesting illustration of the value of what has been called the method of "territorial history" as supplementing the documentary evidence of the Old Testament, a method which has been brilliantly employed in the recent articles by Professor Cook and Canon Phythian-Adams on the early boundaries of Israel.

The Committee have to acknowledge with thanks the following.

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Al Mashrik, April-June, 1934.

ΝΕΑ ΣΙΩΝ, April-May, 1934.

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EXCAVATIONS AT TELL EL DUWEIR, 1933-1934.

WELLCOME ARCHÆOLOGICAL RESEARCH EXPEDITION TO THE NEAR EAST.

Lecture given by J. L. Starkey at the Rooms of the Palestine Exploration Fund, June 27th, 1934.

Due entirely to the co-operation of Sir Henry Wellcome, Sir Charles Marston and Sir Robert Mond, the Expedition has successfully completed a further stage of the programme I outlined to you last year.

During this second campaign at Tell Duweir we have followed up the clues obtained from last season's preliminary examination. The study in London of our stratified sherds, collected from the vertical section which we cut down through the city levels at the N.E. corner of the mound, proved the existence of an early Copper Age occupation, thus taking the history of our site back into the third millennium B.C. This season we have located a large area running northwards from the Tell across the neighbouring spurs, which was consistently covered with sherds of the same early period, and pitted with " cup " hollows of early olive presses. We therefore examined part of the upper terrace of a ridge dominating the western valley where the surface is strewn with limestone boulders. Here we discovered natural caverns and pockets in the soft rock filled with domestic debris, together with caves artificially enlarged, used as dwellings by the early Copper Age peoples. (Pl. II. fig. 1.) At a slightly later date, these caverns had been re-used as burial places. Some large groups of pottery vessels and beads were found, belonging to these interments, though, unfortunately, all had been badly disturbed in early times. (Pl. II. fig. 2.)

The pottery is mostly of the flat-based type; about 50 per cent. of the forms, other than the bowls, have wavy ledge handles, and about 20 per cent. are finished with haematite slip and are hand burnished. Many have been built by hand, their necks and rims having been finished on a tournette, whilst others have clearly been thrown on the wheel.

Besides the pottery, basalt bowls with flared sides occur, usually with a heavy flat base ; a small dagger, as well as some interesting rough casting of copper weapons, bear witness to the free use of this metal. Only one gold object has been found, a small bi-conic bead, cast solid. Carnelian, garnet and crystal beads, with quantities of blue glazed disc and barrel beads, show an advanced technique, and the former are well cut and polished.

A sharp impress of a piece of fine textile on the inside of a small beaker, gives us the earliest evidence of weaving in Palestine. The occupation of this suburb covers the proto-dynastic and early dynastic ages in Egypt.

At the extremity of the ridge, on which we have examined this early material, we have also discovered a large necropolis of a later phase of the Copper Age culture, and have recorded over a hundred and twenty graves. The burials were all contracted, usually placed in a low oval chamber, approached by a small vertical shaft. (Pl. III, fig. 1.) As a rule these chambers contained a single interment, and multiple burials occurred but rarely. The funerary equipment consisted in the main of a water jar, of flat-based ovoid form, usually of light buff paste mixed with a large proportion of crushed limestone ; a small squat jar frequently with two handles at the base of its flared rim ; and occasionally, a flat open bowl, indifferently baked ; four-lipped bowls used as lamps ; (Pl. III., fig. 2.) small weighted javelins and darts, as well as the more regular form of dagger, all of copper, were sometimes placed with the dead.

These lower slopes were found to be badly denuded, and some of the graves were but shallow pans in the rock. As the soft limestone " Hawar " is so active when wet, the skeletal remains had been almost dissolved. Fortunately the metal is in excellent preservation, and affords important material for analysis. The work done here this season has not been exhaustive, and we know that the cemetery extends to the terraces above, where the richer tombs probably lie.

Troublesome landowners have made it inexpedient to do much work on the Tell, and it has been found necessary to expropriate the mound ; this is being negotiated through the kind offices of H.E. the High Commissioner and the Departments of Lands and Antiquities.

We have, however, been able to complete tracing the outer defence wall, discovered last season, round the east and south sides of the Tell, where we had to deal with less rapacious landowners. In this further stretch of the wall, where the levels drop, we have examined consecutive sections of its building to a greater depth than last year, and are therefore better able to understand the method of construction on the east side. (Pl. IV., fig. 1.)

The wall shows three distinct types of building :—

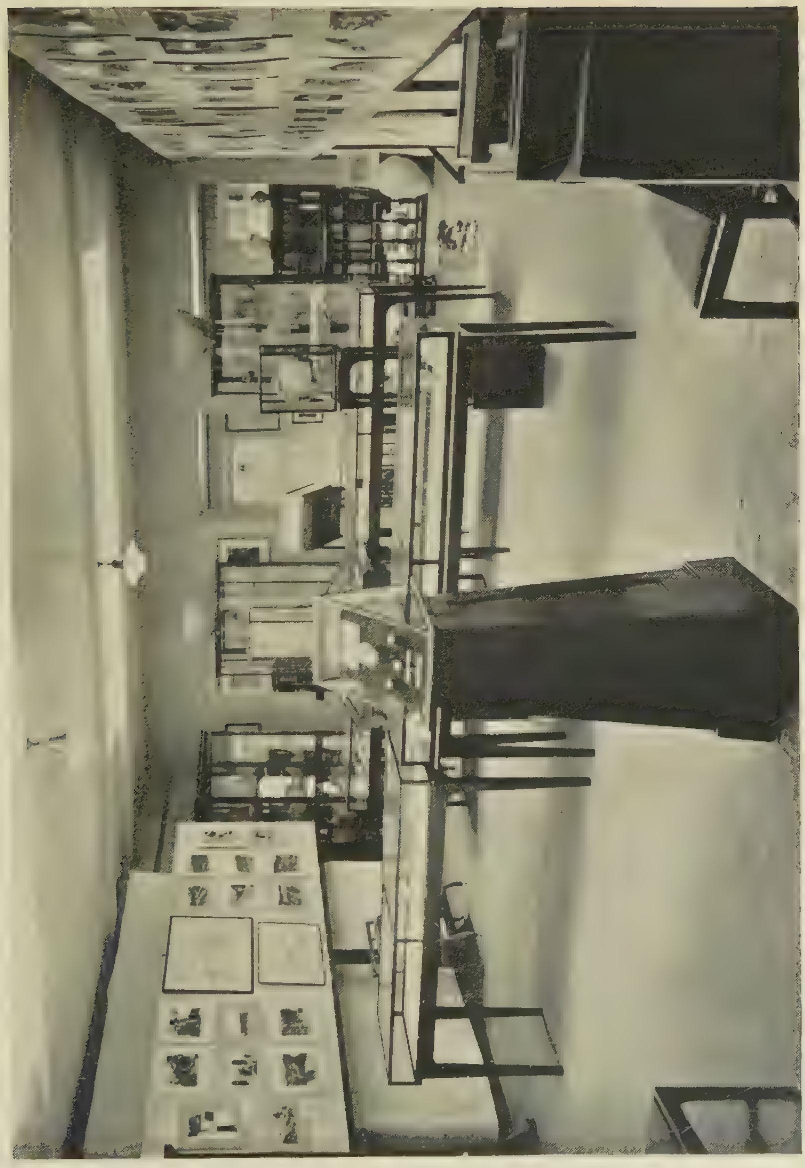
1. The lower courses consist of large blocks of local limestone, laid dry with small stones wedging them in position, at a pronounced batter.

2. The middle courses are almost vertical and are built of smaller masonry, faced with a thick lime plaster, in regular sections, running back obliquely from the battered lower courses. The recurring angles thus formed give the wall the effect of panelling, and make triangular shelves on the top of the lower section.

3. The upper courses were made of unbaked mud brick, and the best preserved were found at the S.W. corner of the city, where the fortifications ran up to their highest point, dominating the road leading to the city gate.

Throughout this stretch of fortification, large sections of wall bear evidence of having been brought down by fire. The wall turning the S.W. corner stood the brunt of a besiegers' attack, which seems to have been followed by the complete conflagration of the city, evident everywhere in the charred levels below the buildings of the Persian city. In this burnt region, above the roadway, we found arrowheads and pikes, similar in type to those discovered with the Assyrian helmet crest last year.

The exact nature of the battlements which surmounted this outer defence wall, can only be assumed from what is shown in contemporary pictures, and a close study of the upper levels, still preserved, suggests that the alignment and general grouping of the turrets, built out above the returning angles, was controlled by the requirements of the defending bowmen and slingers. The problem of the defence of the south and east sides of the mound



Exhibition Room at the Palestine Exploration Fund Headquarters, showing material from Tell Duweir.

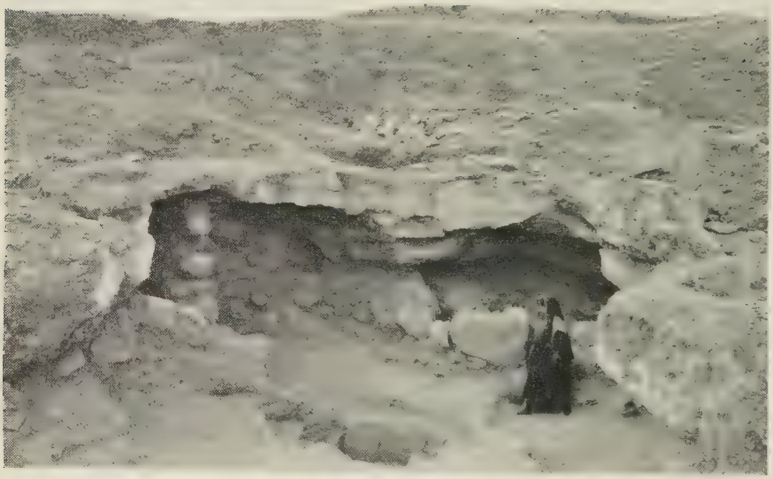


FIG. 1.—ROCK DWELLING, EARLY COPPER AGE. TELL DUWEIR.

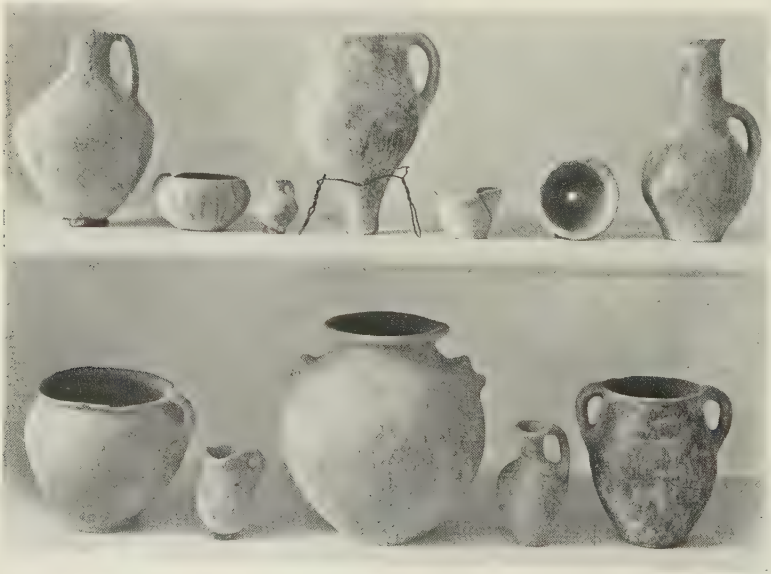


FIG. 2.—POTTERY FROM EARLY COPPER AGE BURIALS. TELL DUWEIR.

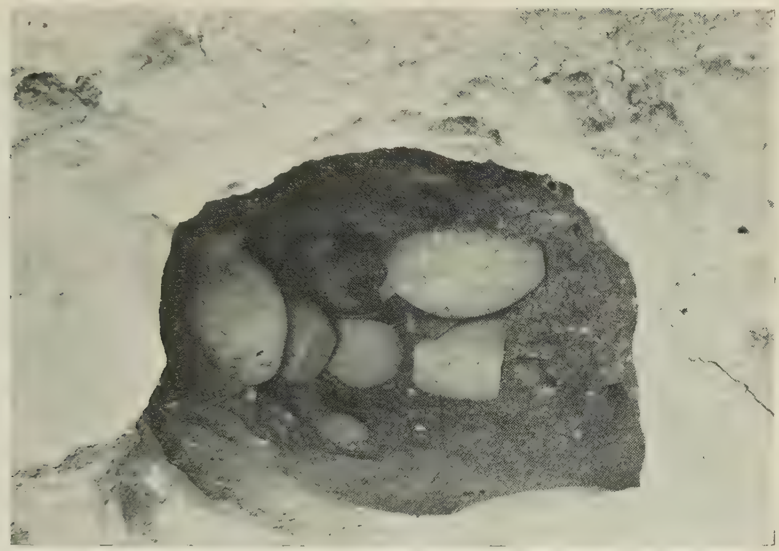


FIG. 1.—LATE COPPER AGE TOMB, SHOWING VESSELS IN POSITION.

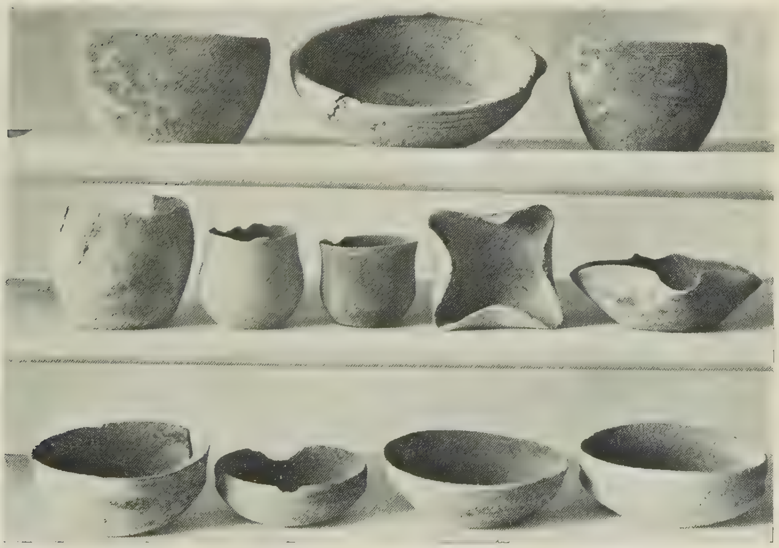


FIG. 2.—TYPICAL BOWLS, CUPS AND FOUR-LIPPED LAMPS FROM LATE COPPER AGE CEMETERY.

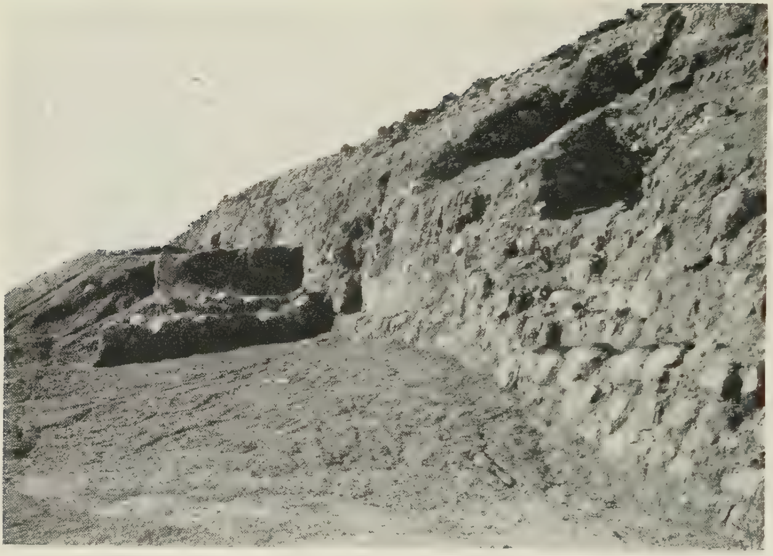


FIG. 1.—OUTER DEFENCE WALL, EAST SIDE OF TELL.

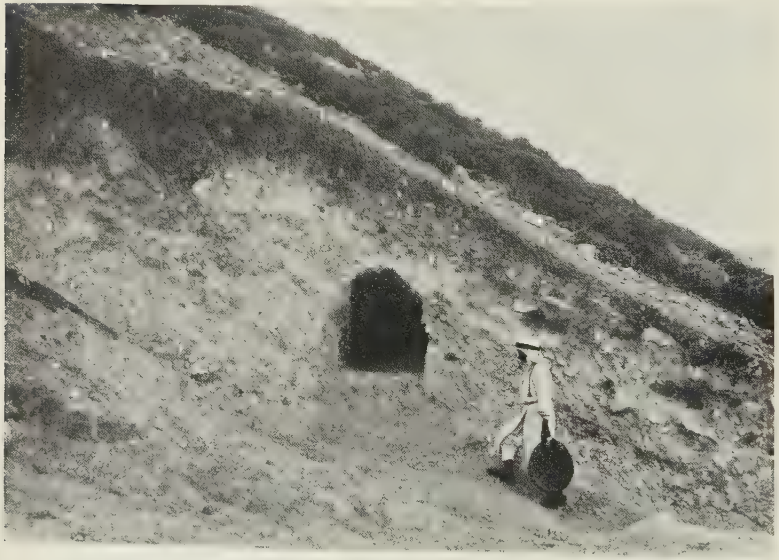


FIG. 2.—SECTION CUT THROUGH HYKSOS REVETMENT, SHOWING SAPPERS' TUNNEL IN LIMESTONE PACKING.

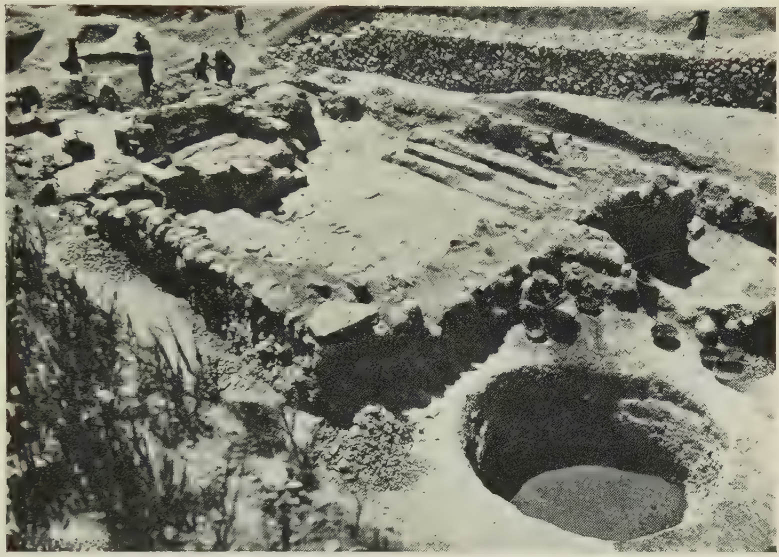


FIG. 1.—XVIIITH-XIXTH DYNASTY TEMPLE.

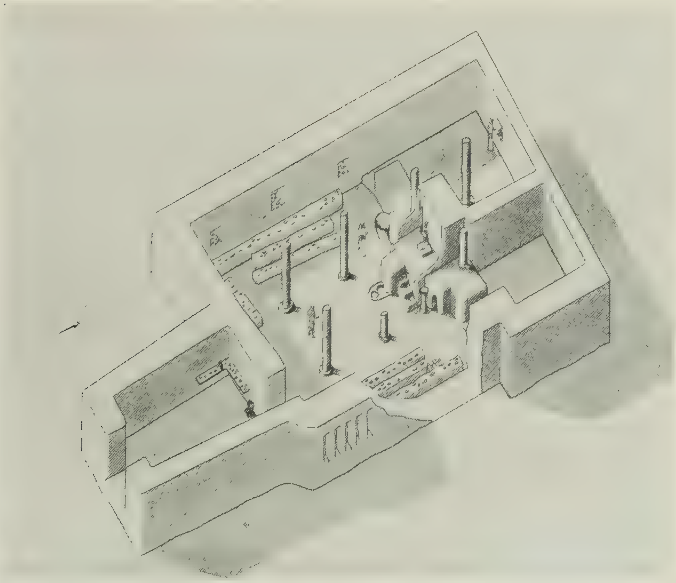


FIG. 2.—ISOMETRIC VIEW OF TEMPLE.

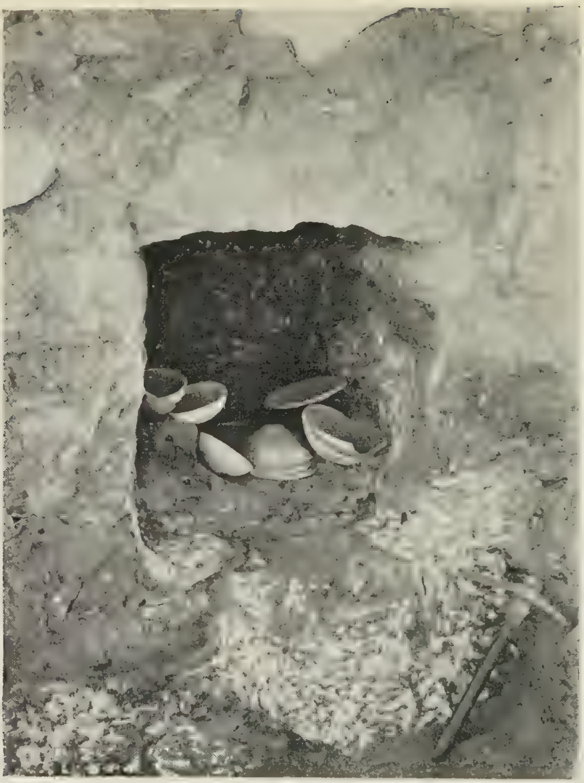


Fig. 1.—Southerly niche in East wall of Temple.

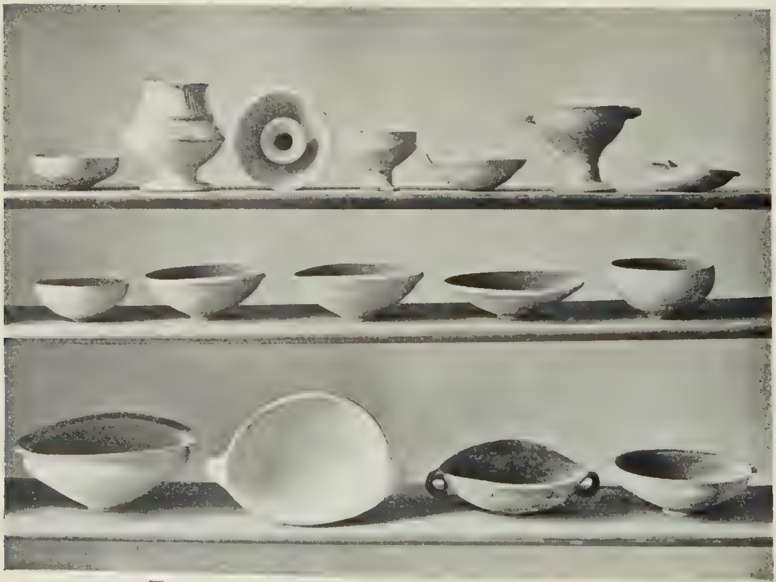


Fig. 2.—Selected group of Temple vessels.

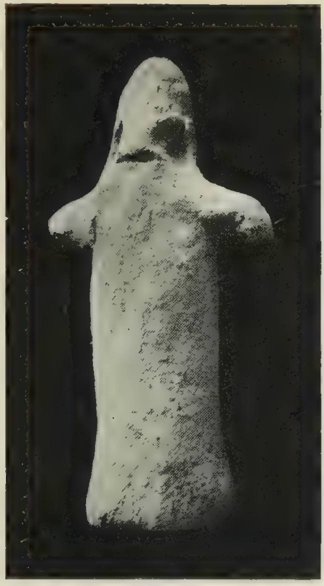


Fig. 1.—Pottery figurine of male deity.

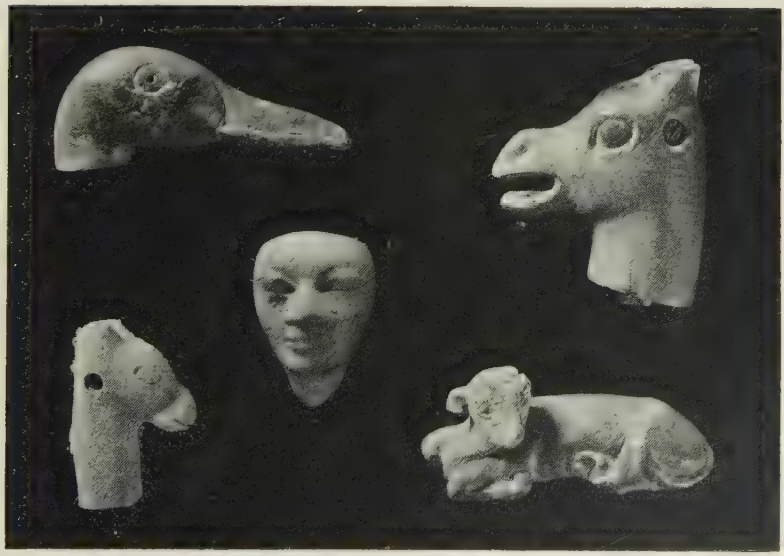


Fig. 2.—Handles and finials of toilet objects.

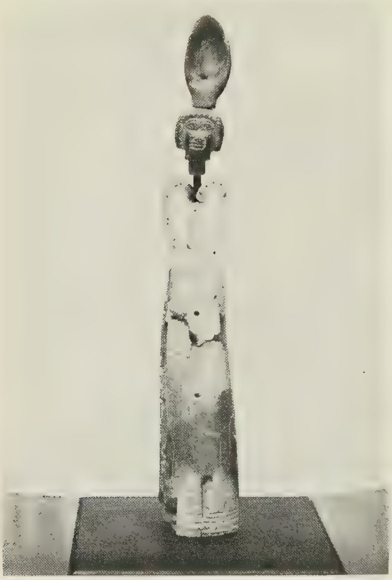


Fig. 1.—Perfume flask.

Fig. 2.—Bronze statuette.

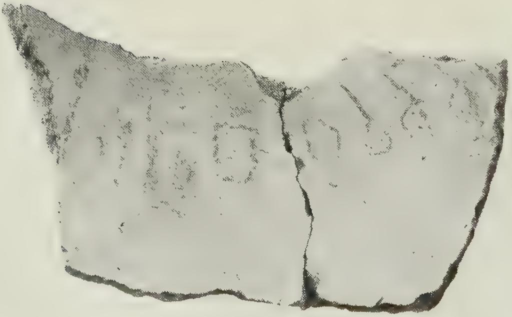
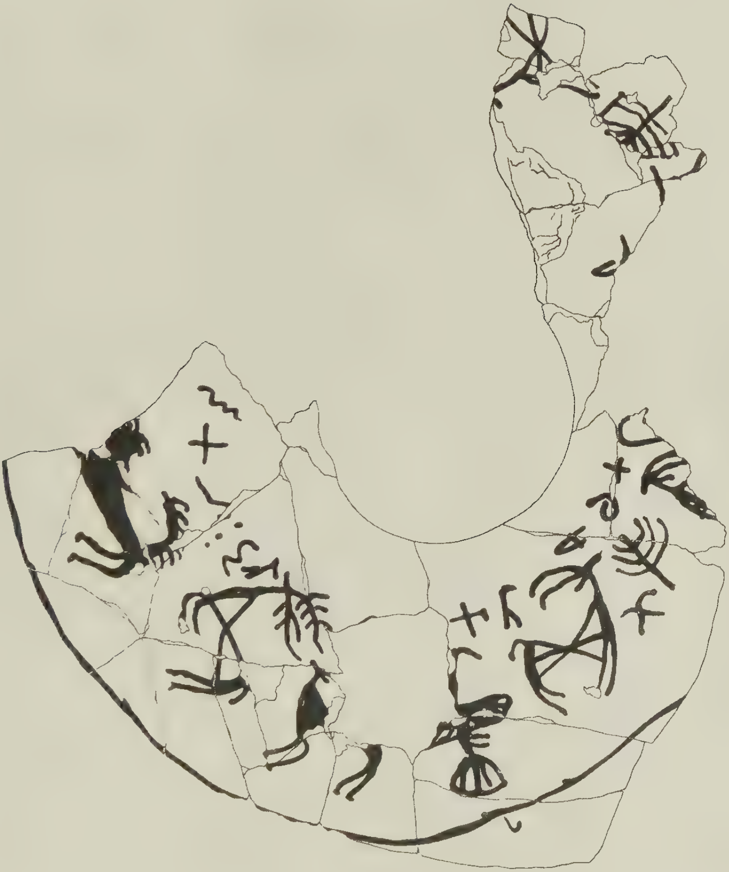


Fig. 3.—Fragments of offering-bowl with inscription, possibly reading PER ATEN NEFER NEFERU.



Drawing of decoration and inscription on shoulder of Duweir ewer.
Date 1295–1262 b.c.

was different from that of the north and west, as any movement of the troops approaching the gate would be met by a direct line of fire from the battlements, planned to give greater angle of range in an easterly direction. The outer defences at the N.W. corner, which were traced last year, have also been examined down to bedrock, where we now find a regular series of buttresses of great thickness ; they differ in this respect from the lighter ones built at frequent intervals along the lower section of the wall throughout its circuit. The light buttresses, founded on bedrock, were never exposed, and were always masked by a bank of rubble, thrown against the lower courses of the wall. We continued the large clearance started last season, in order to prepare a dumping ground for the rubbish from the levels above. Below the rock-platform on which the fortifications are built, we exposed a large area of limestone debris, faced with lime plaster ; this proved to be the earlier "Hyksos" revetment, running down at a steep angle to the deep fosse below, a section of which was examined last year.

Work progressed south towards the great bastion, and by the close of the season we had dug half of the lower slopes at the west side of the mound. This low clearance revealed but few tombs, in fact, even before reaching a central position, we found the rock had been left untouched by tomb diggers, and the soil above it, varying in depth from two to eight feet, was unproductive.

The only exception was a small oval excavation, apparently a quarry of the late XVIIIth dynasty. On the floor, a roughly dressed cylindrical column base was found, lying close to the pedestal of rock, from which it had been detached.

As our eastern boundary, we followed a line parallel to the edge of the counterscarp of the "Hyksos" fosse, tracing it to a point where it suddenly dropped ; a large trench then branched off at right angles westward, draining into the valley below. This discovery was not unexpected, as the fall in level of the section of the fosse indicated that a drainage outlet for the flood water of the winter season would be necessary if it were a dry moat. Otherwise wind-blown sand, together with refuse from the city above, would very soon accumulate, which was actually the case after these defences fell into neglect.

The most interesting tomb-group from the slopes below the fosse, was No. 153 ; this produced scarabs, glazed kohl pots and a good group of pottery. The tomb is a large rectangular chamber, with a partition running half across the chamber opposite the entrance, similar to one found last year of the kidney type, which is common in the " Hyksos " cemeteries at Tell el Fara.

Sealed in under the " Hyksos " revetment, constructed of limestone rubble brought up from the original cutting of the fosse, were some eight tombs, of which the most important were Nos. 157 and 173. The latter was found high up, directly below the N.W. corner, buried beneath some tons of well-stratified dumped material. It was a small oval grave, some three feet in length, just large enough to contain the tightly contracted skeleton of a child ; closely packed at the foot of the grave was the funerary equipment, consisting of two vases, two bowls and a flask. This group, sealed in as it was, by undisturbed constructional debris, must be carefully considered when we come to date the construction of our presumed " Hyksos " defences. It should be noted that in this group, we have a flask of the button-base type, occurring with a round-shouldered bowl with flared rim—a form not common in the later series of sharply carinated bowls, so usual in the large cemeteries at Tell el Fara. The presence of this form of bowl and button-base flask, in association with a contracted burial, is precisely the same combination found in the tombs below houses in the lower levels of Tell el Ajjul. Another tomb, No. 157, found lower down the slopes under similar packing, contained—as we should expect—button and flat-based flasks in pink and black ware, bearing pricked decoration, found in such numbers at Tell el Yehudiyeh, where the large " Hyksos " camp was discovered by Sir Flinders Petrie in 1905.

The absence of the button-base flasks is a striking feature of the long Tell el Fara series, and as this pricked ware has so frequently been associated with " Hyksos " remains, we should now consider whether this previous connection should be questioned. As far as our evidence goes, it would appear that these button-base forms should be dated to the pottery series which characterises the period before " revetment and fosse " fortifications.

Before leaving the subject of our earth defences, attributed to a northern people, I should make reference to the curious tunnel, (Pl. IV., fig. 2.) cut through this same deep limestone packing high up the slopes, above the level of our contracted burial No. 173. Our workers, on clearing down to bed-rock, broke into a section of tunnel, filled partly by silt brought in by water seepage, and partly by its own collapsed roofing ; hence we were compelled to open up the southern sections from the top, as the roof had completely caved in. Part was cut through closer packed debris and we were able to expose a length of the tunnel intact. The floor is covered with limestone dust, consolidated by the passage of human feet moving to and fro in the sweltering and stifling atmosphere of the cramped space. The tunnel is under four feet high and about four feet wide, and these conditions were equally trying to our workers in 1934. It is quite clear that such dangerous work could only have been carried out under the most rigid compulsion, and military expediency seems to meet these conditions. The tunnel was traced to points where it had been broken into by the foundation trench of the Iron Age outer fortifications. We shall have to wait until we clear within the wall to see more of the work of these indefatigable sappers. We do not know definitely who was responsible for this enterprise in attack, though history suggests the early campaigns of the Egyptian forces in the XVIIIth dynasty. That Egyptian troops were not unaccustomed to sapping, as a practical means of reducing fortifications, is clearly demonstrated by the graphic Old Kingdom picture from Deshasheh, and there is no doubt that the technique of this work would have advanced by the XVIIIth dynasty, when the forces' first problem was to destroy the fortified cities barring their route northwards.

This passage at once brings to our minds the two curious tunnels which I partially examined at Tell el Ajjul in 1931. Professor Petrie considered them to be secret means of exit, but this hypothesis did not seem to account for all the facts. The method in which they were dug, together with the curious line followed, seemed to indicate that they were being cut by workers uncontrolled by a surface survey, which would naturally be available in time of peace, and I think this discovery at Duweir corrects the earlier view.

While clearing the rubbish which filled and covered the fosse at the base of the "Hyksos" revetment, a number of graves were recorded of the early Jewish Kingdom. They mostly contained single burials, placed in a chamber at the side of a shallow shaft, but were never cut into bed-rock. The chambers were usually sealed by stones, placed at an angle across the opening. Most of these shaft graves date to a period before the construction of the outer Jewish wall, as is shown by the fact that the deep scree of limestone debris thrown down during the building of the wall covered the shafts and was undisturbed by them. The bodies were all extended, with the hands at the pelvis; sometimes a water jar was placed at the end of the grave, and one or more smaller vessels by the head. Tomb No. 147 produced juglets of the standard red imported Cypriote ware, decorated with concentric circles.

At the level of these burials, we located the tops of thick stone walls, which appeared to belong to a single complex. The easterly part of the structure, towards the Tell, was better preserved, and stood to a greater height than the westerly portion, which was denuded almost to rock level—in fact, only that part remained which had been protected by the later deposit of builders' rubbish.

The first objects found which could be definitely ascribed to the building, were the bowls in the three deep niches in the east wall. The smaller one to the south had thirty-five perfect pieces stacked in position. (Pl. VI., fig. 1.) At about the same time, one of our workers, clearing round a mass of burnt brickwork to the west of this wall, exposed the neck of a blue glazed vase, leaning against a corner of this brick mass. A few inches below, a large scarab was uncovered, face uppermost, showing the well-known "lion hunt" inscription of Amenhotep III in eight lines of hieroglyphs. Mr. Harding then took charge of the actual clearance, and in the course of two days' meticulous work, he removed the remains of a large collection of toilet objects in alabaster, faience, glass and ivory, smashed in a thousand fragments. Besides the large commemorative scarab were three others, bearing the "Son of the Sun" name of the same king, Neb-Maat-Ra.

This collection provided us with food for thought, and it was difficult to connect the burnt brick mass with the outer walls, from which the central area seemed completely isolated. The royal scarabs show contact with Egypt during the middle XVIIIth dynasty, 1400 B.C. As our work progressed to the north, a square altar of unbaked mud brick was exposed, approached on the right by three steps. It then became obvious that we were dealing with a place of worship, and that the puzzling central mass behind, represented the collapsed walls of a raised shrine.

A tall pottery stand was found to the right at the foot of the steps, and to the left of the altar many pottery bowls were lying close to a massive pottery bin. This vessel was certainly a permanent fixture, as it had been set some eighteen inches into the mud-plastered floor. At the base of the potstand were fragments of a large bowl which had fallen from it, and a few inches further to the right were some lamps in a small recess, of the open pinched-bowl type usual at this period. On the floor was an ablution bowl, provided with a bridge and two lugs as supports for the foot, and a pottery censer decorated with red ochre, with pierced lugs for a suspension cord. (Pl. VI., fig. 2.) As the floor level was swept, we exposed a small hearth at the base of the altar, surrounded by a mud curb, in which there were two depressions, containing charcoal and a few faience beads : the same types of beads occurred in the large deposit, which we had previously found just outside the west wall. There were faience daisies with yellow centres, cornflowers, bunches of grapes, mandrake fruit, palmettes, ribbed plaques, long crumb beads and quantities of cylinder and disc beads in blue glaze, of varying sizes.

These pendants were common in the Tell el Amarna period, when we know they were used in the composition of the elaborate collars so fashionable at that time. A white glaze terminal spacer, with lotus design on one side in blue, red and yellow, in imitation of lazuli, jasper and gold, can also be compared with specimens from Tell el Amarna.

An ante-chamber gave access to the main apartment or sanctuary and beyond were two subsidiary rooms. Round three sides of the sanctuary were long narrow benches, the back one built against the wall, with two standing free in front, and gangways sufficiently wide to enable people to pass through. The offerings were presumably placed by devotees on these benches, to await removal later by those officiating at the altar, where we notice the large libation bowl on its stand to the right, and the great pottery bin for meat offerings to the left. (Pl. V., figs. 1 and 2.)

The plan of the building is a simple one, and has a close parallel in the temples found by Rowe at Beisan, but there the altar is in all cases detached from the raised shrine behind. In the temple ascribed to Rameses II we see brick benches in the sanctuary and similar flanking platforms to the shrine ; at Duweir the large stones forming the limestone platforms are well polished from use. May we assume then that the statue of the deity was served at times from these raised positions ?

There is some evidence that a flat mud roof, supported by wooden beams covered the whole building. In view of the mud and stone construction, of the walls and floors, covered with a thick coat of white-wash, and the absence of a drain in the sanctuary, it seems improbable that any part was exposed to the weather, but I would suggest that the interior was illuminated by openings in the west wall. Stones in vertical alignment which had fallen inwards across the mastabas suggest mullions between vertical squints.

A preliminary isometric sketch by Mr. T. Concannon shows the lay-out of the building, with some of the temple furniture in the position as found. (Pl. V., fig. 2.) The roof was supported by oval wooden columns, and their section is clearly marked on the top of the soft limestone bases. The two rooms behind the altar were for the use of the priests, that to the south-west possibly served as a vestry, as here the beads were found belonging to the floral faience pendant collarettes. The south-east chamber contained a mass of pottery piled against its south wall, probably fallen from shelves or a cupboard, and it was perhaps reserved for the disposal of offerings.

Unfortunately there was very little inscriptional material, but two sherds have been fitted together to make part of a plain hemispherical bowl, and they show characters carelessly scrawled in black, which may be an unskilled attempt at Egyptian hieroglyphs : the meaning is extremely doubtful, though some authorities would see a resemblance to the Aten cartouche. (Pl. VIII., fig. 3.)

These sherds came from the great deposit of rubbish outside the east wall below the slope of the mound, where a depth of some three feet covered and filled four large pits.

It was from this same spread that we recovered about 40 fragments of a tall ewer, 2 feet in height, made of red ware, finished with a buff burnished slip, and decorated with a series of goats and trees, a stag, a lion and a bird. (Pl. IX.) These subjects cover the upper part of the body and shoulder, and above them in a line, at the level of the handle, is an inscription in characters which belong to the writing on monuments and rocks at Serabit el Khadim in Sinai, and also have certain affinities with the early Phœnician script occurring at Byblos. This is the third example of this script found in South Palestine, the others are on ostraca ; one from Beth Shemesh some ten miles from Duweir, found by Dr. Grant, the other from Gezer, found by the American School. Our Duweir ewer has been examined by Dr. Alan Gardiner, and Mr. T. Gaster ; Professor Langdon has had access to a hand copy. Varying opinions have been given as to this translation, but there is a general agreement that it reads from left to right, and that the first three signs may read M.T.N.—a gift or offering. We may hope for more information after the experts have examined the text, now that the pot has been built up and is available for study. It is gratifying to know that the Expedition has made this addition to the problem of the connection between the Sinaitic inscriptions and Southern Palestine ; it is not unreasonable to assume that this latter district was probably the home of those miners who wrote the inscriptions at Serabit, rather than the inhospitable mountains of the Sinai peninsula.

From this same rubbish heap to the east of the temple, besides the inscription, came an ivory hand, three-quarters life size, and a fine inlay in the same material, with strong resemblance to the Tell el Amarna portrait heads. The subtle treatment of the eyes and particularly the protruding lids, is distinct from the normal Egyptian technique. The mask in profile compares closely with the portrait statue of Thothmes III as a young man, from Karnak.

These objects were part, no doubt, of the earlier temple equipment which had been discarded and never replaced. Several fine cylinder seals in faience, haematite and crystalline limestone were recovered, the latter was the largest example and shows exceptionally good workmanship.

It seems evident that all the carved ivory is the work of a school of craftsmen who were using the motifs and patterns in vogue at that time in the neighbouring countries of the Eastern Mediterranean. In this connection, a perfume flask, carved from an ivory tusk, which is now being restored, is of special importance. The flask is designed in the form of a lady wearing a long skirt ; loop handles represent shoulders and arms, and on to the slender body a head is fitted. This is a removable stopper, through which a hole is drilled connecting with a spoon, shaped like a hand, rising from the head. (Pl. VIII., fig. 1.)

On the wall paintings of the XVIIIth–XIXth dynasty tombs of Egypt, Syrian tributaries are depicted bringing gifts of local workmanship to the Pharaoh, and it is not uncommon to see tusk-like objects terminating in a spoon or hand, and in one instance we actually have the combination of a female head with hand, on a fresco in the British Museum.

This same northern school of craftsmen, at a much later date, was no doubt responsible for the fine ivory carvings recently found by the British School at Samaria, and the previously discovered groups from Arslan Tash and Nineveh.

Supplementing all this material, is a small pendant plaque in faience, bearing the faint though unmistakable cartouche of Rameses II, User-Maat-Ra-Setep-en-Ra.

To sum up—on the one side we have the commemorative scarab of Amenhotep III, occurring with others bearing his name, Neb-Maat-Ra, and on the other the plaque of Rameses II. This then, gives us the minimum range in time for our temple's history. It seems certain from the pottery which was in use at the moment of the temple's final destruction that it could not have occurred later than the first half of this reign, from 1295 to 1262 B.C.

As to an equally close date for its original foundation, we may find, upon digging below the structure now exposed, evidence for a pre-Amenhotep III date.

It may be more difficult to determine how long this building was dedicated to an Egyptian cult, but it would be no little surprise to find it surviving in its original form after the troubled times of the late XVIIIth dynasty. It may well be that a Palestinian artist had long since replaced a piece of resplendent Egyptian work with a local effort in the plastic art, found in the right hand corner of the raised shrine. This figure wears a tall conical cap, and most probably represents a local version of Teshub. (Pl. VII., fig. 1.)

The same technical staff was with me in the field as last year and I must again express my indebtedness to these colleagues for their wholehearted co-operation. Mr. L. Harding and Miss O. Tufnell were responsible for general field record, Mr. Richmond Brown again did all the photography, Mr. W. B. K. Shaw undertook the surveying, and Mr. C. H. Inge was in charge of working gangs. Mr. R. M. Cox, a student from University College, was with us for some three months, and H. Pummell resourcefully handled heavy transport and kept our lines of communication open.

In London the Expedition has received invaluable assistance from Dr. L. W. G. Malcolm, Mr. A. L. Dean and Mr. H. Port of the Wellcome Research Institution, and Mr. Sidney Smith of the British Museum. Our best thanks are also due to the Palestine Exploration Fund for lending these splendid rooms for our Exhibition last year, and repeating their generous offer, so that all those interested may see our finds, which will be on view here next Monday.

THE TELL-DUWEIR EWER INSCRIPTION.

By THEODOR H. GASTER.

[*For Inscription see Plate IX.*]

§1. THIS inscription constitutes one of the most important discoveries of the present decade. Epigraphically, it must be classed beside the ostracon unearthed by Dr. Grant at ʻAin-Shemesh, both being written in the same script. This is identical, in all essential points, with that of the proto-Semitic inscriptions found by Petrie at Serabit al Khadim in Sinai. From it derives, on the one hand, the North and South Arabian script (*i.e.* Lihyan, Ṣafaitic, Thamudean, Minaeo-Sabean and Ethiopic), and on the other the Phœnician alphabet subsequently adopted by the Greeks. Adapted to the exigencies of wedge-writing, this script may also be recognised in the cuneiform alphabet recently found on documents unearthed at Ras Shamra, in North Syria, and at ʻAin-Shemesh, in South Palestine. The inscription dates from the reign of Rameses II (c. 1301-1234 B.C.) and thus opens up a new chapter in the history of alphabetical writing in Palestine. It is roughly contemporary with the Ras Shamra inscriptions, and we may regard both as varieties of a common script then in vogue. That there are points of affinity with the early Phœnician inscriptions found at Byblos is but to be expected, since the latter is a lineal descendant, but this ultimate correspondence is one which really obtains between all "Sinaitic" and all Phœnician inscriptions, and should not delude us into classifying the new script as "Phœnician."

§2. The inscription reads from left to right, as frequently in Sinaitic and Arabian documents, and as regularly in Ethiopic. This is plain not only from the content, but also from the evidence of penmanship which shews that the characters were painted from the left-hand side. They surmount a conventional design of gazelles beside a tree, and the formation of one letter has had to be varied from its usual type in order to avoid its overlapping this design. Three vertical dots, which appear after the third character, are undoubtedly a word-divider. They recur on the ostracon from ʻAin-Shemesh (unfortunately indistinct), and on one of the earliest Greek inscriptions—the "Sigeian" from the Troad. A later form are the two vertical dots which regularly mark the end of a word in Ethiopic.

§3. The first word of the inscription is m t n "gift." It is possible that this word is used in a quasi-technical sense, denoting an offering to a deity: for this usage cp. Hebrew *mattanah* (Deut. 16 : 17; Exod. 28 : 38; Ez. 20 : 26), Ras-Shamra *mtnt* (1929: i. 2) and Assyrian *mandattu*.

The rest of the inscription has been variously interpreted. Not all of the letters are certain, and there is a gap in the middle. Certain it is that the second word began with *s*,—and that the third ended in *—lt*. The intervening characters are variously identified, except for a common agreement that the one immediately following the gap is *t*. The certain values thus yield: *mtn š . . .t . . lt*. The character following *š* and that following *t* are variations of a single letter, which Dr. Robert Eisler and Miss Melian Stawell would read *g*. This has suggested that the second word of the inscription might be *sg'*, identical with the Hebrew *saggi'* (Job 36 : 20 : 37 : 24) in the sense "grand, magnificent," when *mtn sg'* will mean "a grand present." The objection to this is that *saggi'* is a late Aramaism without cognates in the South-Semitic languages, and that it means "lofty, pre-eminent" rather than "grand," the basic meaning being "grow tall." It is not impossible that we have here a verb in the Šaph‘el (Causative) conjugation, but this is necessarily speculative. The concluding word is read by Eisler *[l]tg'lt* "for deliverance," the whole legend being *mtn sg* *['l]tg'lt* "a grand present in return for deliverance." This has the merit of making *t . . lt* a single word and thus accounting for the absence of the distinctive three dots if it be two words. It is, however, not free of objection, inasmuch as the root *g'l* "deliver" seems to be natively Hebrew (and thence Aramaic), and its restoration in an inscription which may be in a quite distinct Semitic language is somewhat precarious. South-Semitic prefers *‘ḏb*, and Assyrian *ušezib* in this sense. Moreover, it is by no means certain that the letter before *l* is '(*aleph*). Although it resembles Phœnician *aleph*, and has therefore been so read by Eisler, Gardiner, Miss Melian Stawell and Langdon, it must be confessed that it stands a goodly way from the "Sinaitic" *aleph* and its North and

South Arabian equivalents, resembling more closely the letter *d*. This would yield *gdlt* "great, large" in the last complex, with the initial *t* as the end of the previous word with which this adjective would agree. The absence of the word-divider is not really surprising, for similarly on the Ras-Shamra tablets, the analogous vertical stroke is omitted between words in close agreement. The inscription will now read *mtn šg . . t gdlt* "gift (of) a large (great) . . ." It should be added that Gardiner reads the last three letters as a separate word *'lt* "goddess," but this would almost certainly require the word-divider[1].

§4. Thus, it is not yet possible to advance a definitive interpretation of the inscription. As the writer has previously pointed out[2] its value at the moment is primarily epigraphic, the exact meaning of its contents being a secondary matter.

A point which may here be added is that the curious swastika which appears between the gazelles in the design on the ewer, is also to be found on pottery unearthed by Schliemann at Hissarlik. It is a fairly common Aegean device, as is also the "maeander" pattern on the neck of the vessel.

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[1] It is significant that on the obverse of the 'Ain-Shemesh inscription, out of horizontal alignment and in thicker paint, occur three characters which, if read *upwards* (as not infrequently in "Sinaitic") bear a remarkable similarity to the penultimate three letters of our inscription. This may be part of an endorsement (viz. *gdl*) and would shew that, as against Gardiner's view, our last four letters belong to a single word.

[2] *The Times*, 13th June, 1934, where the first identification of the script was published. This was subsequently corroborated by the independent and authoritative statement of Gardiner, *ibid.* 14th June, 1934, and by Dr. Robert Eisler, who was kind enough to communicate his decipherment (orally) to the writer. Miss Melian Stawell's decipherment was based on a bad photograph which led her to construe the horns and buttocks of gazelles as alphabetical characters, whilst the "popular" account in *The Observer*, 15th July, 1934, contained a number of confusing statements and must therefore be received with the usual caution.

THE TELL-DUWEIR EWER INSCRIPTION.

Father E. Burrows, S.J.

(For Inscription see Plate IX).

It will be generally agreed that the first word is *MTN*, *gift* (T. Gaster, *The Times*, June 12) ; that the last is *Elat* (*cf.* A. H. Gardiner, *ibid.*, June 13) ; and that two of the intermediate letters are S and T. It only remains to identify the letter like a modern gimel (but like no early gimel). I suggest that it can be nothing but *waw*. It differs from the usual early waw only in having an angular bend at the end of the stem, and in position (as if upside down).

A bend is still to be seen some two centuries later in the stem of the waw in the inscription of Ahiram, though it is no longer angular. That the bend was originally angular is likely enough. In Exodus the word *waw* signifies a hook such as might be attached to a post for the suspension of hangings ; at a certain date a rectangular bend at the end of the stem of the letter waw may well have represented the attachment or bracket of some such hook. It may be added that the sign for *w* in the cuneiform alphabet of Ras Shamra (which is derived from an early form of the Canaanite alphabet) points to the existence of a bend in the stem of the early waw.

The inversion of a letter in archaic script is not improbable. It is surprising that the letter appears as upside down ; but it seems possible that the inscription was written round the pot turned sideways, so that the writer may have intended to make not a vertical waw standing on its head, but a horizontal waw with head to the right.

If this identification is correct, the inscription runs as follows (left to right) :

מתנ וש [ ] תלאות·

which makes sense.

Before *Elat* is *w=and*. Before *and* there must have been another divine name, co-ordinated with *Elat*, or perhaps (as there is space for three letters in the lacuna) two divine names, the first beginning *šw* (say Sho–) and the second ending in *–t*.

Among the divine names that occur on the Ras Shamra tablets are SR, MT and ELT, =Shor, Mot and Elat. Shor in these texts is to be identified with El: he would therefore be a proper companion to Elat. Mot, according to the same documents, was the son of Shor-El.[1] Thus Shor, Mot and Elat make a family triad, and a likely restoration of the present inscription is

Gift . . . (to) Sho[r, Mo]t and Elat.

In the slight remains of a letter at the beginning of the lacuna may probably be recognized a fragment of the *r*.

The Ras Shamra documents (thirteenth century or thereabouts) must be nearly contemporary with the inscription of Tell Duweir; and there is evidence of a connection between the Ras Shamra culture and that of southern Palestine (*cf*. T. Gaster, *P.E.F.Q.S.*, April, 1934).

The meaning of the three points after the first word remains uncertain. According to our interpretation of the sentence they could be either punctuation or a sign for the numeral *three*, indicating perhaps "the Three" whose names follow.[2]

My thanks are due to Mr. Starkey for kindly providing me with photographs.

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[1] Shor usually appears as Shor-El, but Shor alone is also found: *cf*. Dussaud, *Rev. de l'hist. des rel.* 1932, I, 252; Hans Bauer, *Z.A.W.*, 1933, 83. Elat occurs in the documents of 1929, and occasionally in the poems (*Syria* 1931, col. I, 12; 1932, col. IV, 49). For Mot as son of Shor-El see 1931, VI, 27, etc. Mot is also called *bn-elm*, and once *bn-el* (1931, pl. xliii, 30). May not the former expression refer to his two parents, El and Elat?

[2] Another possibility seems to be suggested by the rituals or offering lists of Ras Shamra, 1929 collection,—that *mtn* 3, *mattan šlšt*, may mean *offering for the third* (*day*).

ISRAEL IN THE ARABAH (II).

By Canon W. J. Phythian-Adams.

In a previous article under this title (*Q.S.*, July, 1933, pp. 137-46) the writer drew attention to Israel's possession of (and claim to) the Arabah during two periods of its history, namely, from David to Jehoshaphat and again from Uzziah to Ahaz. He pointed out that the objective must throughout have been the rich copper deposits which this Rift Valley contains, and argued that some part at least of Solomon's wealth must have been acquired by mining and trading with this metal. Incidentally, a study of the available evidence seemed to make it clear that the Kadesh-barnea of the Exodus legends must be found in the high-places of Petra, and it was not unreasonable to conclude that this identification dated back to the Solomonic Era.

Ample confirmation of the former part of this thesis has now been provided by Dr. Nelson Glueck, who led a joint archaeological expedition this spring to Edom and the Arabah, and the first part of the present article will deal briefly with these new discoveries. Dr. Glueck advances at the same time (in his report published in the *Illustrated London News*, July 7th, 1934) certain conclusions as to the date of the Exodus which he claims must follow inevitably from the evidence of his explorations. Here the present writer believes him to be mistaken, and the second section of this article will be devoted to a study of this problem.

1. Dr. Glueck's first discovery was that of the acropolis of Khirbet Hamr Ifdan, situated on the eastern side of the Arabah, about thirty miles south of the Dead Sea. "It is built on the flat top of a small, isolated hill, and guards the western and northern approaches to the copper-mines . . . On the top and sides of the acropolis, pottery was found belonging to the period between the twelfth and eighth centuries B.C. Approximately five miles in a straight line south-east of Khirbet Hamr Ifdan lies Khirbet Nahas, a very large mining site, where copper ore was extracted and smelted during the Solomonic period, to judge from the pottery finds.

Khirbet Nahas is situated in a *cul-de-sac,* almost completely surrounded by sandstone hills. The area between the hills is packed with ruined houses and small, ruined furnaces, and is black with heaps of slag. The raw ore protrudes above the surface in the immediate vicinity. Mining it was a simple task." Dr. Glueck found here a large enclosure (76 metres square) which has the appearance of a prison-camp, and considers it likely that the mines and furnaces were worked with forced labour, drafted, perhaps, from the Edomites. (He reminds us that Solomon introduced the system of the *corvée* into Israel.)

" Within a five-mile radius of Khirbet Nahas, the expedition discovered three other large copper-mining and smelting centres, which have hitherto never been recorded. Two of them, Khirbet el-Gheweibeh and Khirbet el-Jariyeh, were worked during the Solomonic period. . . . About three miles in a straight line south of Khirbet Nahas is Feinan. It is a tremendous site, and was occupied from about 2200-1800 B.C., and after that not until the period extending between the thirteenth and eighth centuries B.C. It was abandoned then until the Nabataean period, and has been occupied in almost all subsequent periods. There are huge heaps of copper-ore slag. In a subsequent trip the copper-mine was discovered, from which the copper-ore was dug and transported to Feinan to be smelted." Another discovery, which Dr. Glueck describes as " of outstanding importance," was that of a large copper-mine called Umm el Amad between Feinan and Shobek." It is a large mine, cut into the face of a sandstone cliff. It measures about 50 by 20 metres. The entrance to the mine is upheld by five large pillars. . . . The ore was transported to Feinan to be smelted primarily because of the excellent water supply there, and because Feinan was situated on the trade route which ran through the Arabah. This copper-mine was worked, in all probability, during the reign of Solomon."

Lastly we come to el Meniyyeh which, as was pointed out in the present writer's previous article, must be identified with Ezion-geber. Dr. Glueck describes it as " the largest and richest mining centre in the entire Arabah," and as having been worked " primarily in the Solomonic period." The great acropolis (previously visited and described by Musil and Horsfield) guards " six mining camps which cluster round it ." A few miles to the north at Ghadian (which seems to retain in its name a memory of Ezion) were found traces of iron-ore, which may explain the reference to both iron and " brass " in Deuteronomy 8, 9. (Iron was also found with copper-mining in the Wadi Sabrah near Petra).

It will not be necessary to comment at any length upon these most important and interesting discoveries. We may note, however, in the first place, that at least one site, Feinan (the Biblical Punon), was worked from the latter part of the third millennium B.C., and therefore (presumably) by the Horites who, according to tradition preceded the Edomites in these regions. (Deut. 2, 12). The cessation of mining here may then be plausibly attributed to the Edomite invasion, which Israelite tradition held to have taken place much earlier than its own. (Gen. 36, 31).[1] If the destruction of the old inhabitants was as ruthless as the Deuteronomist describes (Deut. 2, 12), the lapse of centuries during which no mining was carried on is the more easily explained, for the newcomers would have possessed neither the skill required for this purpose nor (it may be) the ambition to exploit their buried wealth. When at last the mines were re-opened in the thirteenth or twelfth centuries, the enterprising workers seem to have been nick-named after their activities : thenceforth they were the ' Metal-smiths,' and it is as the ' Kenites ' that they make their first appearance in Israelite history. It was suggested in the previous article (p. 139) that this event took place in the reign of Saul (11th century) and that from this time onward the eyes of Israel were fastened on the copper-mines of the Arabah. The new evidence provided by Dr. Glueck, while not of course explicitly confirming this theory, is clearly not opposed to it. Some at least of these mines were being worked in the reigns of Saul and David, and it is hardly likely that the great expansion of the industry, which it is now clear took place during that of Solomon, was not preceded by *some* similar Israelite activity on however much smaller and more modest a scale. On the rest of the picture we may be brief. We may take it now as an established fact that an extensive exploitation of the Arabah copper was carried out by Solomon, and that his

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[1] The lack of evidence of early Edomite occupation does not invalidate this theory. As Prof. Garstang has impressed upon the present writer, peoples in the nomad stage, as these would have been, leave no trace of their presence.

Ezion-geber navy was employed very largely for trading with this metal over-seas. But this is not all. If at the same time, as the present writer has suggested elsewhere,[2] Solomon was attempting to reopen the turquoise-, and copper-, mines of the Sinai peninsula, the greater part of the area which was later believed to have been traversed by Israel after the Exodus was being actually covered by his agents, and the effect of this upon the tradition of the wanderings will be at once apparent. As in the golden age of Augustus the glories of the past were sung by Virgil, and in that of Elizabeth by Shakespeare, so in this strangely similar apogee of the fortunes of Israel, the most momentous memories of the Chosen People must have seized upon and inspired the imagination of the courtier-annalists of Jerusalem. The site of the Mount of God, the route of the Wanderings, the very places where Miriam and Aaron died and the Rock surrendered its waters under the magic Rod—all these, that seemed made so opportunely familiar to Israel, must have been eagerly and confidently identified. What matter if the original story told of a mountain *beyond* the gulf of the Yam Suph ? Plain facts speak louder than ancient and ghostly memories ! It was here and here that these great things befell our fathers ! Who would be so foolish, who so disloyal, as to doubt it ?

2. It will be helpful if we carry these considerations with us when we go on to estimate the importance of Dr. Glueck's discoveries in Edom. These, it must be said at once, are of the highest interest and importance. " Working northward from Aqabah by car, the expedition discovered the first known Edomite fortresses. They are large, walled enclosures, built of rough flint-blocks, and strengthened with revetments and towers. They are called Khirbet Ras en-Neqb and Khirbet esh-Shedeiyid. They are situated on the edge of the Neqb overlooking the Hasmah [el-Hismeh] valley and mark the southern boundary of the Edomite kingdom. From the pottery finds they can be dated between the thirteenth and eighth centuries B.C." Even more important, however, than these was the discovery of the extensive Edomite site, called Tawilan, immediately

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[2] *The Call of Israel,* p. 196, n.3.

outside Petra between Elji and the Sik. The Edomite potsherds which are described as "extraordinarily interesting," may be dated "between the thirteenth and eighth centuries B.C." (There was also a subsequent Nabataean and medieval Arabic occupation of the site). Tawilan, Dr. Glueck tells us, "is in the centre of the Edomite kingdom, for in the regions round about it the expedition discovered several dozen Edomite fortresses and villages," and he identifies the site with the ancient Bozrah, "an exhaustive examination of Buseirah" having "failed to reveal any sherds earlier than the Nabataean period." The general conclusion which he draws from his exploration of Edom and Moab is that neither of these peoples occupied the territories which later bore their names until the thirteenth century B.C., and he infers from this, having regard to the Biblical account of Numbers 20, that the Exodus cannot have taken place before that century.

There are several points in this part of Dr. Glueck's report to which assent is by no means easy. In the first place his refusal to allow any Bronze (or Early Iron) Age occupation of Buseirah cannot surely be accepted as final. It has been the experience of the present writer to make what he fondly believed to have been an "exhaustive" (surface) "examination" of an ancient site and to find his conclusions radically modified by subsequent excavations. Such a confession may be deemed at once humiliating, and (when compared with Dr. Glueck's explorations) immodest, yet it conveys a caution not altogether needless. There are innumerable sites, it is true, where the archæologist may feel himself reasonably safe in pronouncing so assured a verdict, but Buseirah is not one of them. Here, in fact, is one of the great *obvious* sites of antiquity, a tell situated on an almost impregnable peninsula of rock, a site imposing and extensive, which bears, moreover, a modern name hardly distinguishable from that of the famous Edomite capital. When, in addition to this, we remember that according to the tradition of the country (for such we must presume it to be) a people called the Horites had occupied this very territory before the arrival of the Edomities; when we recall Dr. Glueck's own assertion that the great copper-smelting centre of Feinan was active in the third millennium B.C.; and when he maintains, nevertheless, that there are no signs of this region having been inhabited before the thirteenth century—we can hardly avoid the conclusion that in this instance the explorer has strained his evidence too far. Until Buseirah has been thoroughly excavated we shall cling to its old identification with Bozrah and we shall offer Dr. Glueck the possibility of equating his Tawilan with the Edomite Teman, for which no evidence exists on the open field-site of el-Twaneh with which Musil has identified it.

What, in conclusion, are we to say of Dr. Glueck's references to the Exodus? This, it must be emphasised at the outset, is a wholly different problem. We are not at all disposed *here* to question the explorer's considered verdict that there is no trace of *Edomite* (or Moabite) occupation until the thirteenth century B.C. This is not, of course, to admit that the Edomites (or Moabites) *cannot* have entered the country before that date, for when they arrived they must have been still in the nomadic stage of culture, and nomads leave no traces of their passage[3]. But this admission would not invalidate Dr. Glueck's argument which is based upon the Biblical account of Moses' diplomatic embassy to the Edomites, an account which presupposes an organised and settled monarchy.

Here it may not be unpardonable to repeat what the present writer has had occasion to suggest elsewhere[4]: "The narrative [Num. 20, 14f] . . . relates that the Edomites refused to allow Israel to pass through their territory or even to purchase the water which they required: yet this is expressly denied by the Deuteronomist, with whom the memory of Edom is a pleasant and brotherly one. [Deut. 2, 6f., 26, 9; 23, 7-8.] Both stories, in fact, suggest a *political* (*ethnic*) aetiology which varies its tone with the relations of Israel to its ancient 'kinsman'". The conclusion drawn from this suggestion is that the sojourn of Israel at Kadesh must be treated as a "conjectural probability" which must stand or fall simply and solely with the story of the spies and of Israel's repulse from the Palestinian Negeb. The grounds for this statement may be briefly considered here. The account in Numbers 20 relates only to Edom, but the refusal of passage by *Moab* as well as by Edom is emphasised in Judges 11, 17. The Deuteronomist, on the other hand, while stating that Israel was forbidden to occupy even so much of Edom "as for the sole of the foot to tread on" asserts that the purchase of food and water was permitted and that these were actually provided. (See the passages cited above: the same veto and the same provision of food and water is here stated of *Moab* as well). Yet in a later chapter of the same book (23, 7-8), while Edom is to be admitted to the fellowship of Israel as a brother, Ammon and Moab are rejected (23, 4) " because they met you not with bread and water in the way, when ye came forth out of Egypt." What is the reason for these remarkable vacillations? It can surely be due to nothing else than the actual vicissitudes of history. First we find Edom conquered and decimated by David. To this period will belong the story of Edomite unbrotherly harshness, a reasonably valid "excuse" for "subsequent" retaliation! Then Moab is conquered and a similar justification is pleaded. Then both Moab and Edom revolt, and, all hope of regaining either having been abandoned, it is "remembered" that these peoples received their lands from Jahweh, who had forbidden Israel to occupy even a foot of them. Then relations with Edom become less strained while those with Moab and Ammon remain hostile. Finally both Moab and Edom disappear from history altogether, and the post-exilic P. marks out the route of the Wandering with complete indifference to all the more ancient stories (Num. 33, 37-44. The route is obviously from Kadesh (Petra) *direct* through Punon (Feinan) to the "border of Moab"). Much of this reconstruction is, of necessity, conjectural, but the internal contradictions of the narratives themselves compel us to assess their value in these or similar terms. One thing, at least, should be evident, that we cannot hope to build up any kind of historical picture upon these documents: still less may we prefer their testimony to the far less disputable evidence of the spade. We may indeed be mistaken here and there in our estimates of pottery-dating, but our error can be confined now-a-days within limits which every archæologist will appreciate, and it is a strange and (humanly speaking) a most interesting phenomenon when a learned explorer forswearing allegiance to archæology reverts, however unconsciously, to fundamentalism! More than ever in the face of such an attitude does it become necessary to insist upon the proper claims of science. "*Once for all we must realise that it is useless to press the minutiae of the*

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[3] See above p. 183, note.

[4] *The Call of Israel*, p. 128.

documentary evidence where no external proofs are available for their verification."[5] Biblical scholars have long since acknowledged this principle in their treatment of such obviously pseudo-historical documents as those of P and the Chronicler, but it seems difficult to persuade them that it must embrace *all* the written records of Israel. There can be no "respect of persons" in the search for truth nor, indeed, is there any valid, *a priori*, reason for assuming the historical veracity of a source merely on account of its greater age. We can, in fact, hold ourselves to be on reasonably safe ground only when a tradition (not a document) is corroborated in its essentials (not necessarily in its details) by material, or (where this fails) by circumstantial, evidence. Now when we apply this principle to the problem before us, the date of the Exodus, we realize immediately where the best hope of solving it is to be found. It lies in the remarkable tradition of the total destruction of Jericho by Joshua and the equally remarkable corroboration of this by the verdict of archæology. An event so stamped by taboo upon the national imagination[6] and now so clearly identified by modern research is surely of overwhelming significance when compared with any amount of unauthenticated legend. If Dr. Glueck dissents from Prof. Garstang's dating of the fall of Jericho on strictly archæological grounds, that is indeed another matter. In his present article he makes no mention of this, and his argument as it stands will darken rather than illuminate counsel. His new evidence certainly seems to disprove the "circuit of Edom and Moab" stories, but it has no bearing on the date of the Exodus.

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[5] *The Call of Israel*, p. 72.

[6] 1 Ki. 16, 34. (Hiel).

THE MASONRY OF THE EARLY BRONZE PEOPLE.

By S. Yeivin

As soon as the first walls of the Early Bronze fortified sanctuary on the acropolis of *Ha'ay* were uncovered, it became clear to me at once that the type of masonry exhibited by these early walls was not the invention of people used to constructions in stone, but smacked of mud-brick technique. The fact became especially obvious on comparison with the later architecture in the same place.[1]

Later, I was struck by the similarity of architectural style and the building technique of the megalithic constructions in the neighbourhood of *Rabbat-'Ammôn*, which, judging from what is at present known about the megalithic culture in Palestine, must be of approximately the same date as the earliest layer at *Ha'ay*.[2]

Considering the two above-mentioned facts, I naturally came to the conclusion that in both cases the style was due to the same cause; both settlements were the handiwork of people, who having developed their civilization in the Jordan Valley, where, as in every alluvial plain, the chief and handiest building material would be mud-brick, began to penetrate into the bordering mountainous and high plateau districts[3]; they found that in their new environment, mud, i.e. earth, was too dear a material and too scarce to squander on anything else beside agriculture; on the other hand they found all round them abundant hard material, which could be had for the asking—the local limestone. Thus, they started to use stone for building purposes. Having, however, learned their builders' trade in the valley, where they had to deal with mud-bricks, they translated their old technique into the terms of their new material[4]; their building slabs were roughly shaped like mud-bricks, they were laid more or less regularly in courses of headers and stretchers, a very typical mud-brick technique, and wherever the foundations were on uneven ground and required rectification, the line was corrected by means of large slabs laid with their larger (squarish) surface outwards, again a very typical brickwork technique. All these characteristic features are very different from the early stone technique, where it was initiated by people, who did not have previous experience in brickwork.

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[1] A good photograph of the early architecture at *Ha'ay* appeared in the short preliminary account of the work there published in the *BJPES* I iv, p. 29.

[2] See D. Mackenzie, *Megalithic Monuments of Rabbat-Ammôn at Ammân*: *Ann. of the PEF* I, 1911; especially pp. 19 foll. and 22 foll. Good photographs and plans also in A. T. Olmstead, *History of Palestine and Syria*, 1931, pp. 27 foll.

[3] The penetration was probably first started by the shepherds, who visited the mountains during the summer months looking for green pasturage for their flocks and also for relief from the pestilential heat of the valleys. This process is still going on among the Bedawin in the valley, who leave their low grounds every summer for the cool mountainous districts on both sides.

To be quite fair one must admit that a good deal of the local limestone at *Ha'ay* (at least) breaks naturally into flat, thin slabs of stone. This consideration induced several scholars to think of the technique exhibited by the early buildings at *Ha'ay* as the natural result of local conditions, while the similarity of the megalithic constructions at *Rabbat-'Ammôn* was attributed to natural conditions acting similarly in both cases owing to similarity of materials and environment.

However, a totally unexpected confirmation of my surmise comes now from a third point in Palestine, this time on the western outskirts of the central mountainous backbone of the country. The Welcome Archaeological Research Expedition to the Near East, digging at *Telli-d-Duweir* (probably the site of biblical *Lakhish*), discovered in the immediate neighbourhood of the *tell* a very extensive early bronze settlement (again probably connected with a cemetery of pronounced megalithic character—dolmens), which utilized natural and artificial caverns for dwelling purposes; in one place, where a partition had to be erected in one of the caves, the technique of building in stone is absolutely the same as the technique of the early monuments at *Ha'ay* and *Rabbat-'Ammôn.*[5]

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[4] Such adaptations are very common in the ancient history of the Near East. Cf., e.g., the translation into stone materials made by the third dynasty in Egypt, who tried to adapt their old technique of wood and rushwork to the new building material (stone).

[5] The announcement of this new discovery is made with the consent of Mr. J. L. Starkey, director of the Welcome Archæological Research Expedition to the Near East, to whose courtesy I owe the permission to publish this last paragraph.

In this case there can be no question whatsoever of merely natural conditions, for—though some of the local limestone breaks naturally into flat slabs, it is to be found mostly in very large modules of almost spherical outline, like enormously magnified sling-stones. In this case it seems that there can be no doubt as to the technique being knowingly and intentionally an imitation of a style of masonry totally strange to stone architecture ; how strange is quite obvious, even to an untrained eye, on a glance at the M.B. buildings of the same settlement, which latter employ already a wholly different technique : the usual style of stone masonry.

At this point again we have the same phenomenon : settlers from the alluvial plain (in this case the *Shephelah*, the coastal plain of southern Palestine) begin their slow penetration into the bordering mountainous districts and bring with them their old building technique from the alluvium.

This new discovery raises further very interesting questions as to how far the cultures of the maritime plain and Jordan valley were—at this remote period—inter- or independent, were there any mutual connections between the two (one must remember that they were separated by the central range of mountains, which apparently were thickly wooded and not at all or very thinly populated at the time), did they spring from one parent stock (seeing their relation to the Egyptian late pre-dynastic culture, especially at *Abusiri-l-Melek*) and at what approximate date they flourished in Palestine. All these questions, however, cannot be answered in this short note, and must form subjects of separate articles.

SHAMGAR BEN 'ANAT.

By B. Maisler.

One of the strangest figures in the Book of Judges is Shamgar the son of 'Anat, who figures in the time of the Canaanite oppression before Deborah. In this time "the highways were unoccupied and the travellers walked through byways" (Jud. v, 6).

It has already been frequently pointed out that the author of the Song of Deborah appears to have been thinking of a foreign oppressor of Israel who, like the later Sisera, may have brought Northern Palestine under his control.

It is also very probable that the author of the late reference in Jud. iii, 31, derived the Israelite Judge Shamgar from Jud. v, 6; so that the transformation of the oppressor of Israel into an Israelite Judge is due to a misinterpretation on the part of the editor of the Book of Judges.[1] This hypothesis is supported primarily by the following facts :—1. iii, 31, breaks the continuity between the story of Ehud (iii, 21-30) and verse iv, 1; 2. there were assuredly no Philistines in Palestine prior to Deborah; and 3. the foreign, non-Semitic origin of the name Shamgar.

It is still more important that Jud. iii, 31 shows an identity with 2 Sam. xxiii, 11-12[2] and is probably derived from the latter as the composition of both texts show :—

2 Sam., xxiii, 11–12.	Jud. iii, 31.
ואחריו שמא בן אגא הררי···	ואחריו היה שמגר בן ענת
ויך את פלשתים	ויך את פלשתים···
ויעש יהוה תשועה גדולה	ויושע גם הוא את ישראל

Comparison of the two texts leaves no reasonable doubt that the writer of Jud. iii, 31, transferred the deeds of Shamma, son of Age[3] the Hararite[4] to Shamgar.

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[1] *S. K. Budde*, Das Buch der Richter, d. 32; *C. F. Burney*, The Book of Judges, p. ciii, 113.

[2] –*cf. P. Haupt*, Wellhausenfestschrift (1914), p. 199 f.; *Burney*, *ibid.*

[3] The name אָגֵא is Ḫurrian, as I have shown in Tarbiz (hebr.) iii, p. 189, n. 38.

[4] הרר ארר is probably identical with the city *Araru* in the land of Gari (EA 256, 25).

It is a commonly accepted hypothesis that the name *Shamgar* is connected with that of the Hittite King *Sangara* of Karkemish. But this view, whose principal exponents are P. Haupt[5] and C. F. Burney[6], involves no little difficulty. Apart from phonetic considerations, it is vitiated by the fact that the name Sangara first appears in the ninth century B.C., while Shamgar ben ʿAnat lived in the 13-12th centuries B.C.; and there is the further fact that in the second half of the second millennium B.C. we have to deal mainly with the Ḫurrian stratum of population in Syria and Palestine. which had intermingled with the native Semitic (Canaanite) inhabitants.[7]

However, the assumption that *Shamgar* is connected with the Ḫurrian place-name Šanḫar[8] is also untenable as Šanḫar certainly corresponds to the Hebrew שנער and the Egyptian Śngr.

In my opinion *Shamgar* is closely connected with the Ḫurrian personal name *Šimigari* which is known from the Nuzi texts. A man named Ši-mi-ga-ri, the son of Ŝe-eḫ-li-til-la is also known from the document published by *Chiera* and *Speiser* in the JAOS 47 (1927), p. 49, No. 15.

This name is composed of the familiar Ḫurrian divine name *Šimiegi*, which is known from the texts of Boghazköi (KUB 12, No. 12, vi, 23; 25, No. 46, iii, 17), from the El-Amarna letters[9], from the Nuzi and Ras Shamra tablets,[10] and the element *ari*, which is frequently joined to Ḫurrian personal names.[11]

Hence it can be taken as certain that the name *Shamgar* is Hurrian. As regards the name of his father, there is no doubt that this is the familiar Semitic divine name ʻAnat. This deity, who plays an important part both among the " East Canaanites " and in the Semitic Ras Shamra texts, was adopted in the Ḫurrian pantheon and appears as a Ḫurrian God both in the Boghazköi texts[12] and in the non-Semitic Ras Shamra tablets.[13]. For example both deities ʻ*nt* and *ṯmg* appear in the Ḫurrian document from Ras Shamra : *Ch. Virolleaud*, Syria xii, p. 389 f, which gives a list of Ḫurrian Gods (the sequence being : Ḫmn, ʻnt, Ṯmg, Nbdl, etc.)[14] Ḫanate, Ḫanatum are also found in the Nuzi texts as names of women[15], while the El-Amarna letters also have the name of a man Anati (EA 170, 43).

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[5] *ibid.*, p. 200.

[6] *ibid.*, p. 76 f.

[7] On the Hurrian stratum of population in Palestine see primarily *E. Chiera-E. A. Špeiser*, AASOR vi, p. 75 ff.; A. *Gustavs*, ZPV, 1927, p. 14ff.; *B. Maisler*, Untersuchungen zur alten *Gesch. Syriens und Pal.* I (1930), p. 33 ff.; *A. Reubeni*, Shem, Ham and Japhet (1932), p. 133 ff. and *E. A. Speiser*, AASOR xiii (1933), p. 16 ff., likewise the article shortly to be published in the JPOS by *H. L. Ginsberg* and *B. Maisler* on "Semitised Ḫurrians in Syria and Palestine."

[8] *F. Bork*, MVAG 14 (1909), p. 80.

[9] *Knudtzon-Weber*, Die El-Amarna Tafeln ii, p. 1056.

[10] *cf. B. Hrozný*, Archiv Orientální iv (1932), p. 119.

[11] *cf. E. A. Speiser*, Mesopotamian Origins (1930), p.139 f.

Hence it is very probable that Shamgar ben ʻAnath was a Ḥorite lord, who was ruling in Palestine at the beginning of the " Period of the Judges " and oppressed the Israelites.

It is also possible that בן ענת indicates Shamgar's origin at a place bearing some such name as Beth-ʻAnat (Jud. i, 33), as has already been suggested by M. Noth.[16]

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[12] *cf. E. Weidner*, Politische Dokumente aus Kleinasien, p. 32, 55 ; 54, 41.

[13] See following note.

[14] The text has been edited by *Hrozný*, *ibid.*, p. 118-29.

[15] JAOS 47, p. 50, No. 16 ; further *C. J. Gadd*, RA xiii (1926), p. 135, No. 64.

[16] *M. Noth*, Die Israelitischen Personennamen im Rahmen der gemeinsem. Namengebung (1928), p. 123, n. 1.

THE MAT LOOMS OF HULEH, PALESTINE.

By Grace M. Crowfoot.

The Lake of Huleh is most beautiful with tall feathery papyrus reeds and brilliant green grass and herbage around it, but the district has an ill name for fevers and the population is sparse and poor. The mat weavers, who live on the slopes above the lake, have a hard struggle for existence, and suffer in health from their nearness to the swamp, yet they draw their living from the swamp itself. They are not without pride in their craft, too, nor is the product without merit, for the mats made from the papyrus reed (Cyperus babirus) are excellently thick and soft. It is, one may say, a family craft, for the men have to go and cut the reeds in the swamps, and usually do such preparation as is required, while the women do the weaving.

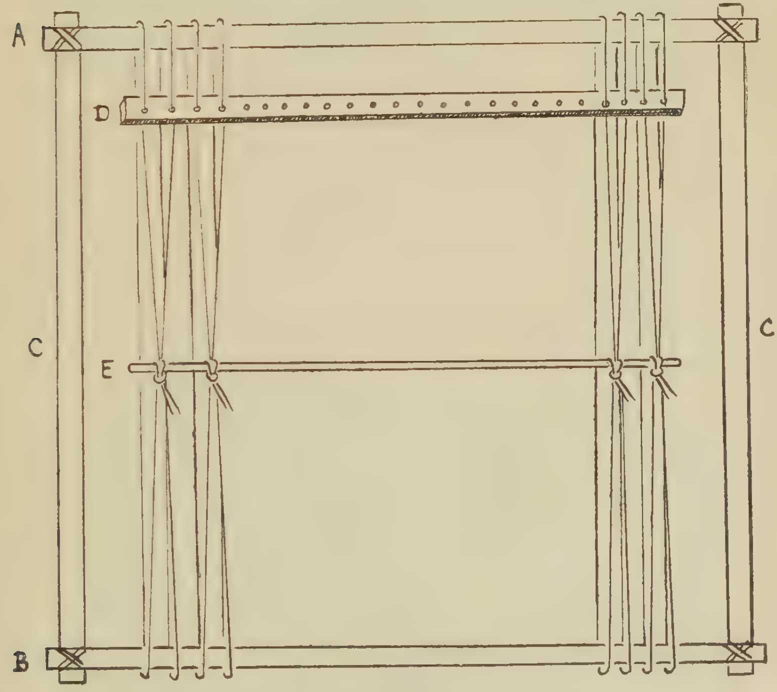

Diagram of the Huleh Mat Loom.

A. Upper Beam. B. Lower Beam. C. Side Beams. D. The holed beater-in. E. Reed Warp rod. Two strands of warp are shown already tied on either side of the loom.

My visit to them was very short; we could spare but a few minutes as we passed by the lake side, but the weavers willingly showed me all they could in the time, and were grateful for the little gift made them; from all accounts they are poorly paid for their labour, but I was not there long enough to learn more than the bare details of the craft.[1]

The loom belongs to the class of Oriental vertical mat looms.[2] It is a simple frame with an upper and a lower beam, and two side beams, usually stouter than the others. In some of the looms, the four beams are simply lashed together, in others the lower beam is passed through slots in the side beams. The interesting feature in this loom is the beater-in, a bar of wood with holes pierced in it for the warp threads to pass through, usually about 36 in number.

Comparison With Horizontal Mat Looms.

The holed beater is also used on horizontal mat looms for example, those of Cairo and other parts of Egypt[3], and those of the village of Abu Dis, near Jerusalem. In fact, such looms only differ from the looms of Lake Huleh in their position, being pegged out horizontally on the ground, while those of Huleh stand vertically, usually leaning against the huts, and sometimes lashed to them for stability.

Material.—The papyrus reeds are suitably prepared by drying, and are damped again before weaving, they are used whole for the weft, but are finely split with a knife for the warp. A man and woman can be seen at the work in the foreground of the photograph. (Pl. 1, fig. 1.)

Making the Warp.—For the warp, lengths of rope are twisted by hand from the split reeds. This can be seen in Pl. 1, fig. 2, where the woman holds the end of the rope with her toes and twists it by rolling it between her hands. When adding a new strand it is doubled, and set into the rope as a loop.

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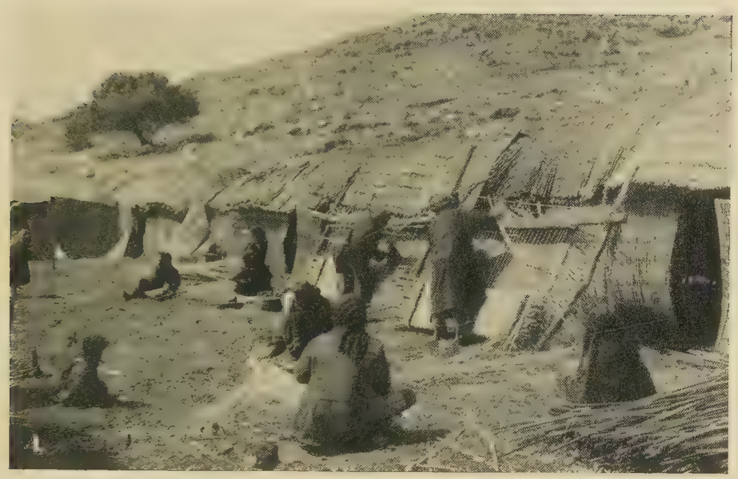
[1] Dr. Mer, of Rosh Pina, tells me that work has been done among the mat workers during the last few years by the Malarial Research Institute, and it has been found that almost all of them are infected with malaria and most of them suffer from its consequences. The place they inhabit is classed as a hyperendemic area.

[2] Ling Roth. Primitive Looms, p. 118. Fig. 188, Mat Loom from Ceylon. Fig. 189, Mat Loom from Hong-Kong.

[3] Ancient Egypt. Parts iii, iv, 1933. The Mat Weaver from the Tomb of Khety. G. M. Crowfoot.



Photograph by Schweig

FIG. 1.—THE MATMAKERS OF LAKE HULEH.

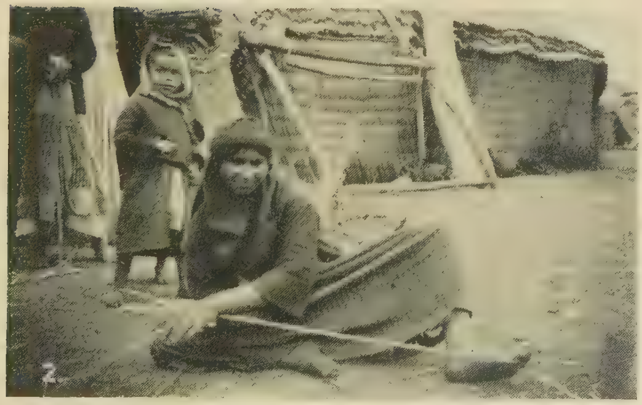


FIG. 2.—MAKING ROPE FOR WARP.

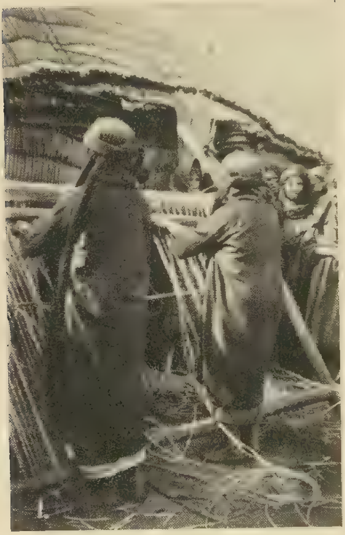


FIG. 1.—WARPING THROUGH THE HOLED BEATER.

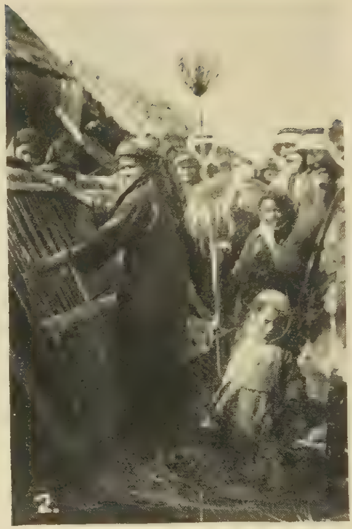


FIG. 2.—THE FIRST WEFT THROWS ARE IN.

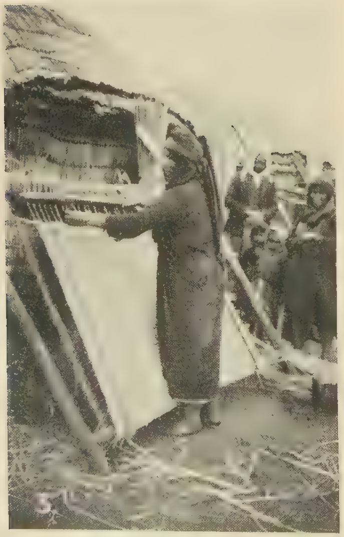


FIG. 3.—PUTTING IN A STRAND OF WEFT.

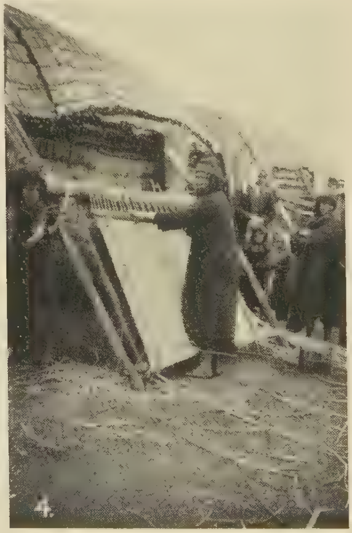


FIG. 4.—BEATING UP WITH THE HOLED BEATER.

Warping.—The warping is shown in Pl. 2, fig. 1, where two women are seen, as is customary, at either end of the loom warping towards the centre. A long strand of the twisted warp rope is taken and doubled on itself, so that the loop forms one end, and the two free ends the other. The woman warping takes the two ends of the double strand and passes them through two holes of the beater-in, over the upper beam, back and round the lower beam. The loop and the two ends meet at a reed stem rod and are tied into each other over it.[4] A second strand is warped in the same way, tied at the warp rod, and so on. When all the warp strands are in position, a few strands of weft are put in and then the strands are tightened up by giving each a good pull, over the warp rod, aided by pressure with the feet, and a half hitch is put in beneath each tie to steady it. The result, when finished, is in effect like an endless warp; it can be moved on round the beams as the weaving progresses.

Weaving.—The strands of reed used for wefts are darned in by hand. There is no crossing, and nothing to indicate which are the odd and even threads. The work is done entirely by eye and hand.

The putting in of weft strands can be seen in Pl. 1, fig. 1 and Pl. 2, figs. 2 and 3. It will be noticed in each case that the weaver has to hold up the beater-in with one hand while she passes the weft through with the other, no easy feat. At each side of the mat the ends of the weft strand are brought back over the last warp and under the next, to form a thickened edge, or selvedge, and lastly trimmed off neatly. The selvedge can easily be seen in the photographs as the mats are woven wrong side outwards. Between each weft throw the weaver beats it with both hands on the holed beam, as seen in Pl. 2. fig. 4.

Finishing.—In Pl. 2, figs. 3 and 4, the mat is nearing completion, and the end of the warps tied over the bamboo are seen appearing over the top of the upper beam. When no more strands can be darned in, the weaver begins to unfasten the warp ties over the bamboo rod, and so free the two ends of the mat. As she unties them, one by one, she turns in the ends on one end of the mat, and the loops on the other, thus finishing it off neatly.

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[4] Probably a stem of Arundo donax.

The Mat Huts.

It will be noticed in Pl. 1, fig. 1, that not only are the people weaving mats of the class described, which are used mainly for flooring, but their huts are also made of mats of a different kind. From their appearance it is easy to tell that the hut mats are not true weaves, the reeds being held together merely by distant lines of crossed strands. I did not see any of them being made.

Such mats are known in other lands. There is, for instance, a frame (vertical) in the Bankfield Museum at Halifax, showing how such mats are made by the hairy Ainu people of Japan. There the binding strands (or perhaps one should say, strings, for they are twisted) are tied in pairs to the lower beam of the frame, and have each a stone attached to the other end. For weaving bundles of reeds or single strands, are laid between the strings, the stones are flung right and left over the reeds, thus crossing the strings on top of them. More reeds are added, another fling of the stones, and this simple manœuvre is repeated till the mat is made. Similar mats are also used to make the bridal houses of the Hadendoa people of the Red Sea Coast, and these, as far as my information goes, are made on the ground, with the binding strings tied to pegs. But whether the making of the hut mats of Huleh, more approximates to the process used by the Ainu or that of the Hadendoa I do not know. I hope at some future time to make further investigation into the subject.

Arabic Words Used in the Mat Weaving.

The upper beam	El fokhaniya.
The lower beam	El tahtaniya.
The holed beater-in	El qalib.
Bamboo warp rod	El rōt.
Warp	El sedwe.
Weft	El lahme.
Mat	El hasire.

THE PIPE LINE FROM IRAK TO HAIFA.

An interesting paper on *Middle East Geography in relation to Petroleum*, which was read by Sir John Cadman, G.C.M.G., D.Sc. at a meeting of the Royal Geographical Society last June, is now printed in the September number of *The Geographical Journal*. In this article there is much of very special interest to the readers of the *Quarterly Statement* and all who are concerned with the progress of Palestine. The detailed description of the Haifa pipe line in particular, is of special importance, and we venture to give an abbreviated account by quoting extracts from the paper.

Prior to the construction of the pipe-line, it was decided, for various reasons, that the line should debouch at two points on the Mediterranean, Haifa to the south and Tripoli to the north. For 156 miles from Kirkuk in northern Irak to Haditha on the Euphrates the two sections of the line run together. At Haditha they bifurcate. The southern section continues through Iraq, Trans-Jordan, and Palestine to Haifa. The northern section leaves Iraq near Abu Kamal, thence traversing Syria to its point of termination at Tripoli. The distance along the pipe-line route from Kirkuk to Haifa is 620 miles, and from Kirkuk to Tripoli 530 miles—an aggregate of 1,150 miles.

The weight of the pipes required was 120,000 tons—approximately 100 tons a mile.

"The metal of which the pipes are composed is steel. . . . Measures had to be taken to guard against corrosion and as soon as a section of the line—made of ten or eleven 40-foot lengths—was welded together protective substances were applied. A mechanical cleaner fitted with rotating brushes—first wire then coir—was drawn along the pipe. The wire brushes removed all dirt and rust" from the outside "leaving a clean steel surface on which the coir brushes deposited a coating of "primer." When that had dried a protective enamel was applied by hand. Hot enamel was ladled on to the upper side of the pipe and, as it ran down, was spread evenly by a strip of canvas passed under and around the pipe and worked backwards and forwards, a remarkably even distribution being obtained. Finally the entire pipe was wrapped in asbestos."

"The sections of pipe when placed in their trenches were slightly longer than the trenches into which they were fitted. They were forced down by loaded caterpillar tractors so as to leave them in position under compression and allow of a certain degree of contraction.

"Almost the entire route of the pipe-line system lies in desert wastes, unequipped with roads or railways, possessing few towns, and unpopulated save for scattered tribes of nomads. Water existed at certain points, but was inadequate in quantity or quality. The preliminary operations of surveying possible routes and determining those which were ultimately chosen occupied, as you may imagine, a considerable number of months. Finally, decision was made and preparations for the work were put in hand.

"The country through which the pipe-lines run may be generically described as a desert. Its nature, however, differs from section to section. Between Kirkuk and the Tigris few geographical difficulties were encountered, but the approaches both to this river and to the Euphrates are rough on either bank and called for some engineering ingenuity in their negotiation. From Haditha through Rutba and as far as Burqa, a distance of some 270 miles, the obstacles to pipe-line construction were limited to stretches of rather rough country, occasional patches of rolling stony ground, and a few small wadis. From Burqa to Jebel Asfar the line traverses its most difficult section. Between these points there lie 70 miles of "lava country." The surface of the ground is covered with basaltic rock which in some places takes the form of a solid sheet and in others—the greater part—exists as boulders varying from 6 inches to 1 yard in diameter. The sand beneath the boulders is loose and abrasive.

"At this point transport across the lava country was found to be practically impossible, and it became necessary later to construct a metalled road across it in order to facilitate transport of materials from the Mediterranean to the inner desert regions of Iraq. The road is 90 miles long and sufficiently wide to accommodate two lines of heavy traffic.

"From Jebel Asfar the pipe-line turns to a west-north-westerly direction, traverses flat country to Mafraq, and then enters limestone hills of increasing heights as it approaches the River Jordan. At its highest point, 18 miles east of the Jordan, the pipe-line is 2,600 feet above sea-level. When it reaches the Jordan it has fallen 3,450 feet to 850 feet below sea-level; and in a further 10 miles it rises again to 750 feet above the sea. Thence it falls in a steady slope through the plain of Esdraelon to Haifa on the Bay of Acre.

. . . .

"Difficulties of all kinds were encountered. Flooding delayed operations repeatedly. At times, lack of security from attack by wandering tribes made it necessary for vehicles to travel in convoy, guarded by an armed escort. Passage across the lava country was extremely difficult at all times owing to the blinding and suffocating dust which rose around each vehicle. Drivers were blinded for hours on end by a travelling dust cloud which prevented them from seeing more than a yard or two ahead. The engines and transmissions of lorries were cut up by abrasive dust. Nevertheless the preliminary work was done; and in due course sections of pipe were "strung" along the route which the line was to follow.

"It had been decided for various technical reasons that the pipeline should be buried throughout its length. The first operation, therefore, was the digging of an adequate trench. Fortunately little manual labour was required for the task, or we should never have arrived at its end. Most of the work was done by ditching machines. These consist of a caterpillar tractor bearing a power unit which operates an excavating wheel overhanging the rear of the unit. The wheel is equipped with steel buckets which pick up the soil—including boulders of 15 inches in diameter—and drop it on to a conveyor belt which throws it neatly and continuously beside the excavated trench. The type of ditcher used by the Iraq Petroleum Company is capable of cutting a trench over 2 feet wide and 6 feet deep at an average rate of approximately a mile a day.

"In places the ground, being composed of rock, was too hard for a ditching machine to operate. Recourse was had to blasting. A line of holes was drilled by pneumatic machines of the type which may be seen any day at work in the streets of London. Explosive charges were placed in each hole and the line of charges, fifty or more, was fired simultaneously. The blasting and the operation of the ditching machines formed a remarkable spectacle."

. . . .

"After the completion of operations a slight disturbance of the ground marked the route of the pipe-line. So far as the eye could see, there stretched an apparently interminable row of telegraph posts, running without deviation from horizon to horizon. Between the posts copper wires glinted in the sun. Elsewhere the desert remained unaffected and untouched. Nevertheless the passage of a modern industry has left its mark. The posts and the wires form a track, visible for many miles on the surface or from the air, which, if followed by a traveller from Haifa or Tripoli, would inevitably lead to the Euphrates—to water, shelter, and roads. Never before has a path across the desert been so plainly marked.

"The pipe-line will lie in its trench for many years, and at twelve points on its course there will be pumping stations staffed by Europeans, Americans, and Arabs which, in a sense, will be nuclei of western civilized life. At these points also wells have been drilled for water. The supplies at present obtained may not be more than adequate for the requirements of the stations themselves, but the discovery of water in an arid and unproductive region is an accomplishment of note. I do not say that from now onwards the desert will flourish, but I do say that from this beginning a new era may be dated. What its potentialities will be, none of us can yet assess.

"In the sphere of human affairs also the operations of the Iraq Petroleum Company must have left an impress. Some fourteen to fifteen thousand local inhabitants have been employed on the various works of construction. They have learned, for the first time, something of sanitation and personal hygiene, and have been taught that the traditional customs of their tribes are not the rules which guide the rest of mankind. Preventive and prophylactic medicines have been introduced to them, with such a result that sickness among the Company's staff accounted only for a loss of half of one per cent. of men-days. Adequate feeding raised their strength and stamina to a point far above their normal level. Men of various nationalities and religious denominations—among whom contact frequently means instant trouble—have worked together without disturbance.

. . . .

"Sociologically the period now proceeding, and the years which are to follow, will be of great interest. Men who were formerly nomadic tradesmen, agriculturists, labourers, and craftsmen of relatively primitive skill, have become engaged in the multifarious activities of a modern and progressive industry. Education has been improved, and training which leads to skilled artisanship has become available.

In the economic sphere the effect of oil in the countries which produce it is to widen the basis of trade, increase the national revenue, and bring money into the country by means of general expenditure and through the wages paid to all classes of employees."

M.

REVIEWS AND NOTICES OF PUBLICATIONS.

Syria, XV, I contains a brief note by M. Virolleaud on a broken tablet from Ras Shamra which differs in one remarkable respect from the rest of the tablets now being studied by scholars. It is written from right to left, after the fashion of Canaanite inscriptions in general. There are one or two slight differences in the form of the signs, and some of the signs are separated by circular dots, in one case by two dots, whose meaning and use are unknown. They invite comparison with the three dots arranged perpendicularly which occur in the new inscription found by Mr. Starkey at Tell Duweir. M. Virolleaud can offer no suggestion as to the meaning of the inscription on this tablet, but it seems possible that it may be a numerical inscription of some kind. It presents another intriguing problem for the epigraphists.

The same issue of *Syria* contains some fragments of a veterinary treatise from the same source dealing with treatment of horses. It offers further interesting contributions to comparative Semitic lexicography.

In a valuable article in *Syria*, XIV, 4, entitled *The Present Position of the Decipherment of the Hittite Hieroglyphics*, M. Dhorme has some interesting remarks on the area of diffusion of Hittite culture and its bearing on the problem of the sources of the hieroglyphics. He says: "It is clearly established that the area of diffusion of these hieroglyphs corresponds in general with that of Hittite culture. Even when the Asiatic empire of the Hittites had disappeared, they continued to survive in those states between the Euphrates, the Mediterranean, the Taurus and the Halys where the Assyrians were constantly coming into contact with princes whose names retained a Hittite character. It must not be forgotten that the designation 'the land of the Hatti' persisted throughout the first half of the first millennium before our era. The Sargonids distinguish between the vast region of *Amurru* and the land of the *Hatti*. In the time of Sargon (721-705 B.C.) and of Sennacherib

(704-681), houses were being built with windows after the fashion of the palaces in the land of the Hatti, and were called in Amorite *bit-hilani*, in Hebrew *bayth hallon*, 'a house with windows.'

This persistence of the Hittite civilization leads us to think that the earliest designation was correct, and that the language expressed by the hieroglyphs of Asia Minor and northern Syria is in reality the language of the Hittites. The problem then is to recognise to which of the dialects attested by the Hittite texts of Boghaz-Keuoi the syntax of the hieroglyphic inscriptions belongs. It will be time enough then to inquire which of the many Asiatic races was the first to make use of pictorial symbols to express thought in writing."

The Call of Israel. By the Rev. Canon Phythian-Adams, D.S.O., M.C., M.A., Oxford University Press, 1934. ix-212 pp.

Readers of Canon Phythian-Adams' many valuable contributions to this journal will take up this new book with great expectations, nor will they be disappointed. *The Call of Israel* is not a big book, but it is *non multa sed multum.* The present writer has found it the most stimulating book on the Old Testament which he has read for many years. It is full of brilliant and original ideas, and although, like the present writer, many readers may disagree with some of the author's fundamental assumptions as well as some of his conclusions, it will be impossible for any one to read the book without being immensely helped and stimulated by it. One of the aims which the author had before him in writing it was to exorcise the Demon of Familiarity. This book will certainly send many readers back to the Old Testament with the fascination of re-discovery.

It is rare to find a book on the Old Testament which combines adequate scholarship and first-hand knowledge of the field with a profound faith in the spiritual values preserved in the ancient traditions of the Hebrew people, And when to these is added a charm of style which is a perpetual joy, it will be evident that we have here a book to be received with sincere gratitude.

The central purpose of the book is to examine afresh the ancient traditions of the Hebrews concerning Jahweh's choice of them as his people and his dealings with them in the early stages of their history. Hence it is mainly concerned with the events of Exodus, the wilderness journey and the entry into Canaan, a period in the history of the people which, to use the phrase of the Tome of Leo, "coruscates with miracle." The second sinister spirit which the author sets out to exorcise is the "Horror of Miracle." Hence it is not surprising to find the question of the miraculous element in the early Hebrew tradition treated both courageously and scientifically.

Those who hope to find a reactionary attitude towards the difficult question of the historivity of the early Pentateuchal narratives will be disappointed. Canon Phythian-Adams is not in the least afraid of criticism, high or low, and makes use himself of critical methods in the most admirable manner. Any disagreement with his conclusions will never arise from dislike or distrust of his methods.

A summary of his argument is bound to do injustice to the skill with which it is presented, but his general position is that while rejecting the interpretation which the Hebrew tradition placed upon the events assigned to the Exodus and the entry into Canaan, he accepts their historicity in the main and regards them as evidence of divine ordering in the history of Israel. He adopts an "instrumentalist" view of divine activity in the universe as opposed to the "symbolist" view, and his book is an extremely able and attractive exposition of that view.

The plan of the book divides it into three parts. In the first, under the heading *The Faith of Israel*, the author examines the evidence of the prophets, the psalmists and the early historians in order to demonstrate that the belief in the historicity of the events described in the Pentateuch connected with the Exodus and subsequent conquest of Canaan is fundamental in their whole religious point of view. In the second part, entitled *The Tradition*, he comes to grips with the nature and basis of the tradition and the manner of its transmission. His own summary of the point of view embraced is as follows: The Tradition which we are to investigate is an immaterial Reality, not an historical treatise: it is the living Memory which inspired the Faith of Israel, not that shadow of it which survives in the Books of Exodus and Numbers. In the third part, entitled *The Miracle of the Call*, the author works back from the miracles of Jordan and Horeb, making use of Professor Garstang's epoch-making discoveries at Jericho, to the miracles of the Plagues and the Red Sea, concluding with an eloquent and moving defence of miracle in human experience.

Here it is necessary to quote, in simple justice to the author, since no paraphrase can fairly convey the force of his position: "If, then, we retain for these phenomena their ancient title of Miracle, it is to claim for them a wonder not less but infinitely greater than that which our forefathers could have confessed. Not from the Heavens was the Call of Israel sounded: no Voice, sublime and terrible, proclaimed its destiny in words which all might comprehend: only through the course of the ages the Earth's slow travail moved towards this moment, when the message might be uttered in the ears which could alone receive it, and this act accomplished on those for whom it was ordained. Surely, there is here a Miracle indeed: a revelation of Power and Wisdom, awful not least for its calm and vast simplicity: a Miracle of Coincidence, as we may call it, not single but threefold, in which matter and spirit meet together in marvellous conjunction."

The threefold nature of this Miracle of Coincidence consists of the Miracle of Material Coincidence, the Miracle of Spiritual Coincidence and the Miracle of Sacramental Coincidence where the author, in a passage of devout eloquence, finds the culmination of the threefold process in the Mystery of the Incarnation.

It is only natural that, feeling so strongly as he does the force of his own argument, the author should describe those who do not as "spiritually blind." The gulf which divides the "once-born" from the "twice-born" is one which, perhaps, will never be bridged. But this aspect of the problem is one which cannot be entered upon here.

Space will not allow of a discussion of many interesting and debatable points, some of which have often been the subject of articles in this journal, such as the route of the Exodus, the site of Horeb, or the scene of the crossing of the Red Sea. On all these points and many others Canon Phythian-Adams' opinion is worthy of respect and is always based on firsthand knowledge. His most ingenious and interesting reconstruction of the history of the Ark is also open to possible criticism.

But we shall confine ourselves here to a brief discussion of two fundamental features of the author's position upon which his main contention rests. The two are very closely connected, indeed, the second is in the main a corollary of the first.

The first is the question of the historicity of the tradition that the whole of Israel went down into Egypt, passed through the sea with Moses, were trained and shaped by him into an organic unity in the wilderness, and as a united nation made the conquest of Canaan under Joshua. Upon the historicity of this tradition depends the second of the main pillars of the author's argument, namely, that this "immemorial" tradition was universal in Israel and can be traced back as far as any documentary evidence will carry us.

Now it seems to the present reviewer, as it will doubtless to other readers, that the arguments contained in Burney's Schweich Lectures, *Israel's Settlement in Canaan*, arguments which have since been confirmed by much fresh evidence from excavational sources, have been dismissed far too cavalierly. A mere reference to the Song of Deborah hardly suffices to dispose of Professor S. A. Cook's weighty arguments in Vol. II of the Cambridge Ancient History, or of Eduard Meyer's discussion of the subject in his *die Israeliten und ihre Nachbarstämme*. This is not to say that the position taken up by these scholars is impregnable, but that when the argument of the *Call of Israel* depends so largely upon the refutation of this position it should at least have been more adequately criticized.

This question cannot be separated from the second main support of the author's argument, the view that the tradition of the Exodus and the Conquest is the "immemorial" tradition of the whole nation. Here again we feel the need of fuller proof in order to dispose of the view that "fundamentally different groups of traditions" underlie the "canonical" tradition. In the words of Professor Cook: "All the major problems of Old Testament history are found to be interconnected; and one cannot ignore the fact that directly we go behind the 'canonical' traditions all is fragmentary and we are in the realm of conjecture: the 'canonical' perspective has shaped the history as a whole and, in consequence, the broad outline of events upon which we rely." [1]

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[1] J.B.L., LI, pt. iv, p. 283.

May we venture to express the hope that since Canon Phythian-Adams accepts the application of scientific critical methods unreservedly (see pp. 60-63) and has shown us in this book how brilliantly he can employ them, he will ere long attempt a detailed examination of the positions referred to above, since the refutation of them is essential to his main contention.

It may be added that the two appendices on the Arabah and Kadesh-barnea, and on the Topography and Boundaries of Midian greatly enhance the value of the book to the student of the Old Testament.

S. H. H.

The Handbook of Palestine and Trans-Jordan. Edited by Sir Harry Luke and Edward Keith-Roach. London: Macmillan & Co. Third edition. 16s. 1934.

The third edition of this now well-known Handbook is brought well up-to-date and is enlarged by nearly 50 pages as compared with the second edition published but four years ago. As with previous editions, it is "issued under the Authority of the Government of Palestine," and has an "Introduction" by the High Commissioner, on this occasion, Lt.-General Sir Arthur Wauchope, G.C.M.G. In Part I, which is concerned with Palestine proper, there are seven sections dealing respectively with Geography and History, Ethnology, Archæology, Information for Tourists, the Government and its Activities, Commerce and Industry and Geology and Natural History. Part II—the last 60 pages of the volume—covers much the same ground in relation to Trans-Jordan. All sections have been revised by numerous Government officials and other authorities so that no effort has been spared to produce a standard work. Such a mass of information exists nowhere else in such a handy form. The first 216 pages might reasonably be called a tourists' Guide to Palestine and would have made an acceptable—and more handy—volume by themselves. The sections on "Excavation and Research," by Professor Garstang and Canon Phythian-Adams, and on "Moslem Architecture," by Mr. E. T. Richmond, are of special interest to members of the Palestine Exploration Fund.

The Handbook is an indispensable work of reference on everything concerning Palestine and particularly on the present situation of the land, politically and commercially. To writers on the country, to residents, and to all who wish for something more than the superficial knowledge with which many tourists are content, this work cannot be too strongly recommended.

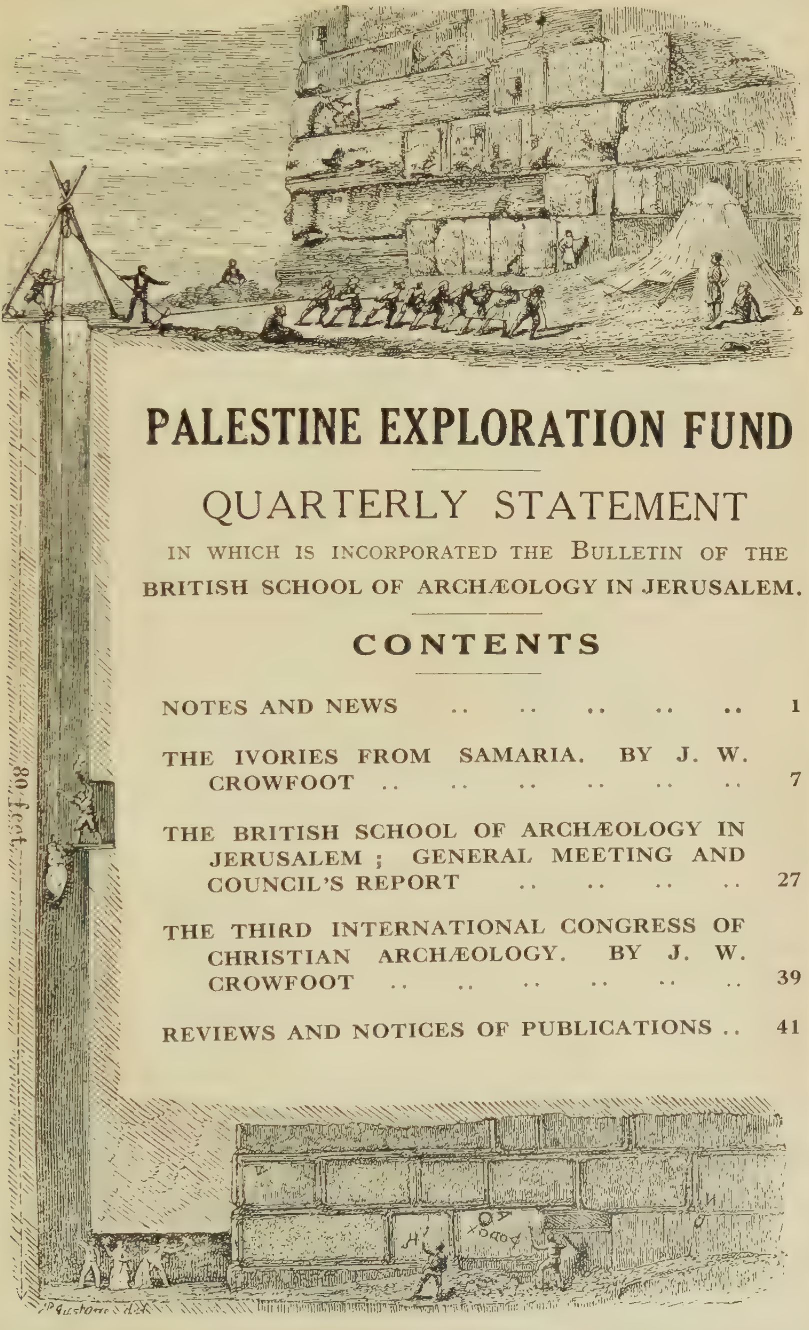
We have it on sale at 2, Hinde Street, Manchester Square, W.

E. W. G. M.

SPECIAL NOTE.

A last minute communication from Mr. Alan Rowe announces the important discovery at Gezer of a great Canaanite tomb 100 ft. long containing tomb niches with burials dating from 2000 B.C. A large Iron Age tomb has been opened and found to contain undisturbed burials and sepulchral objects. Among the latter are an intact bronze dagger, an agate figurine of a cat, and some small unbroken jugs.

JANUARY, 1933. SIXTY-FIFTH YEAR.



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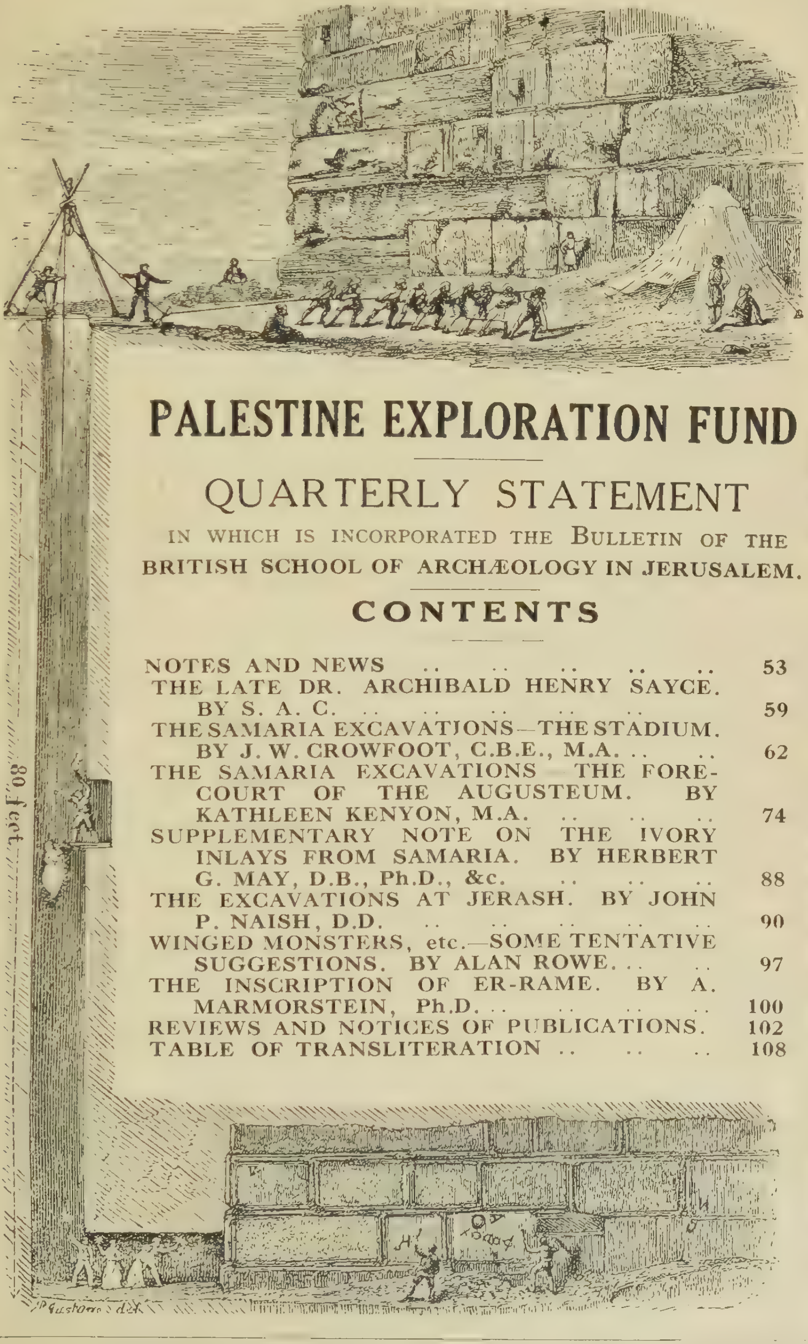

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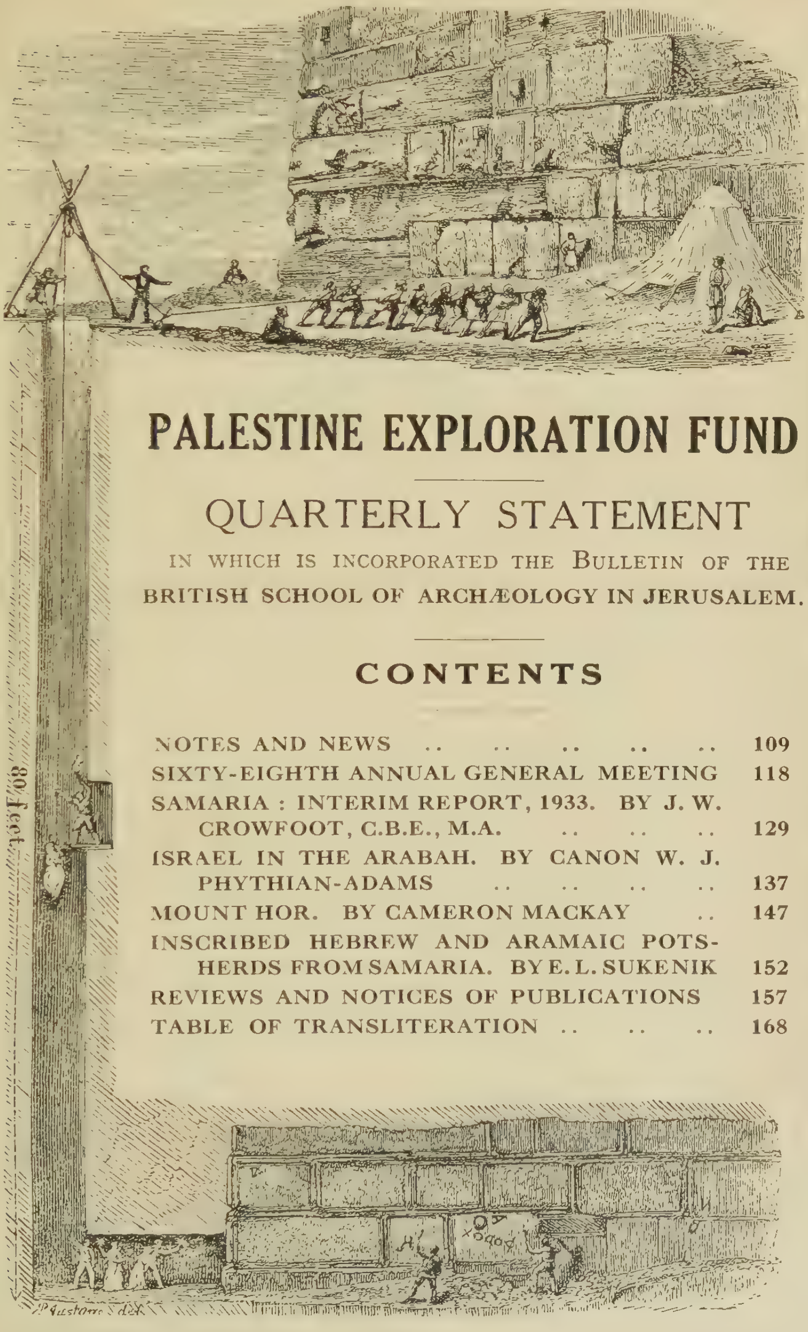

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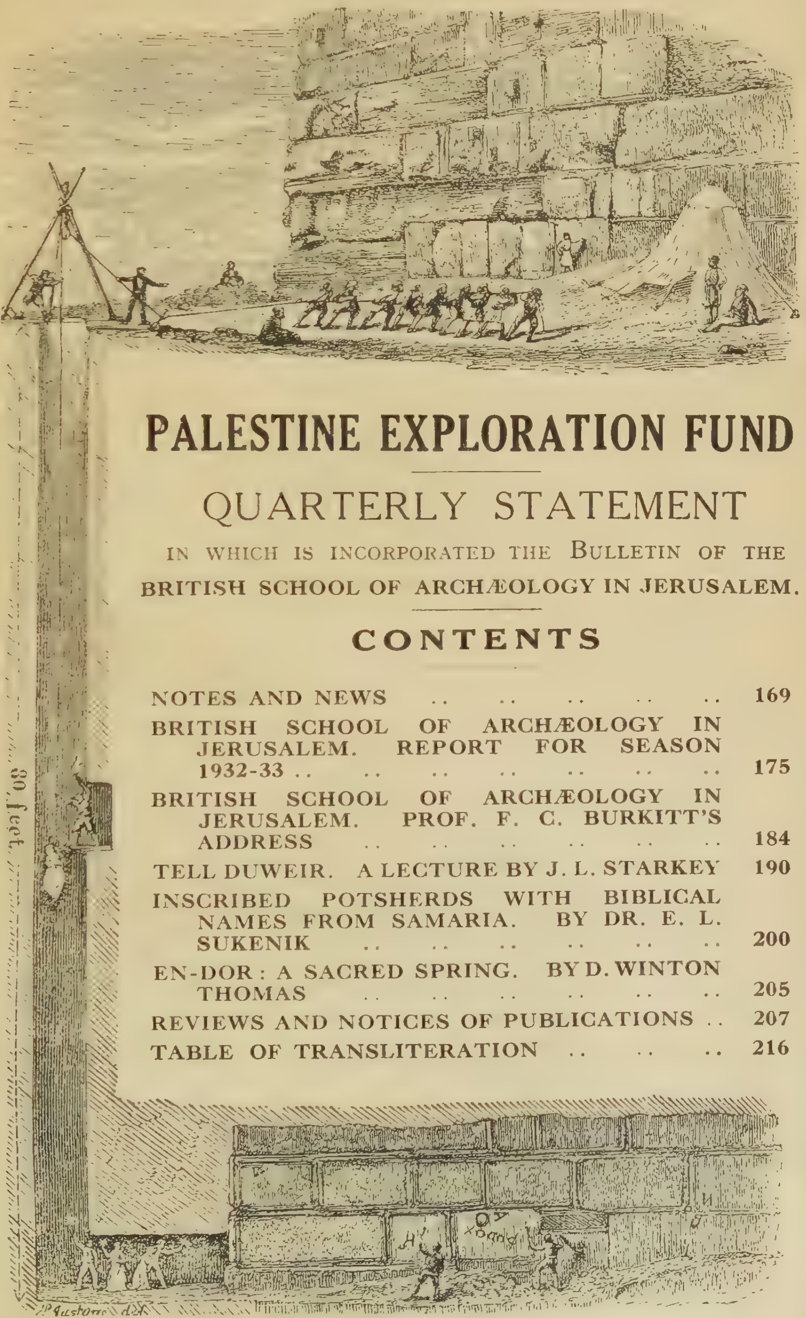

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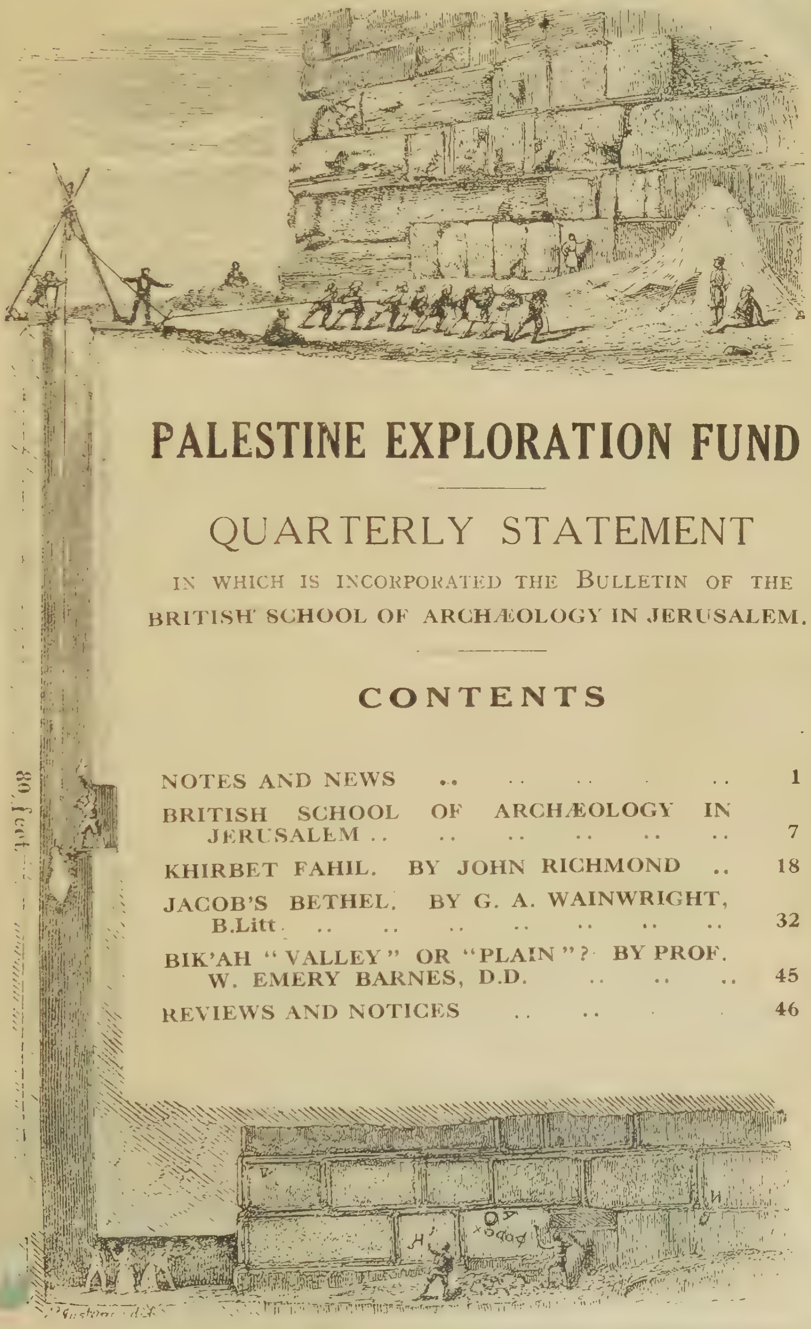

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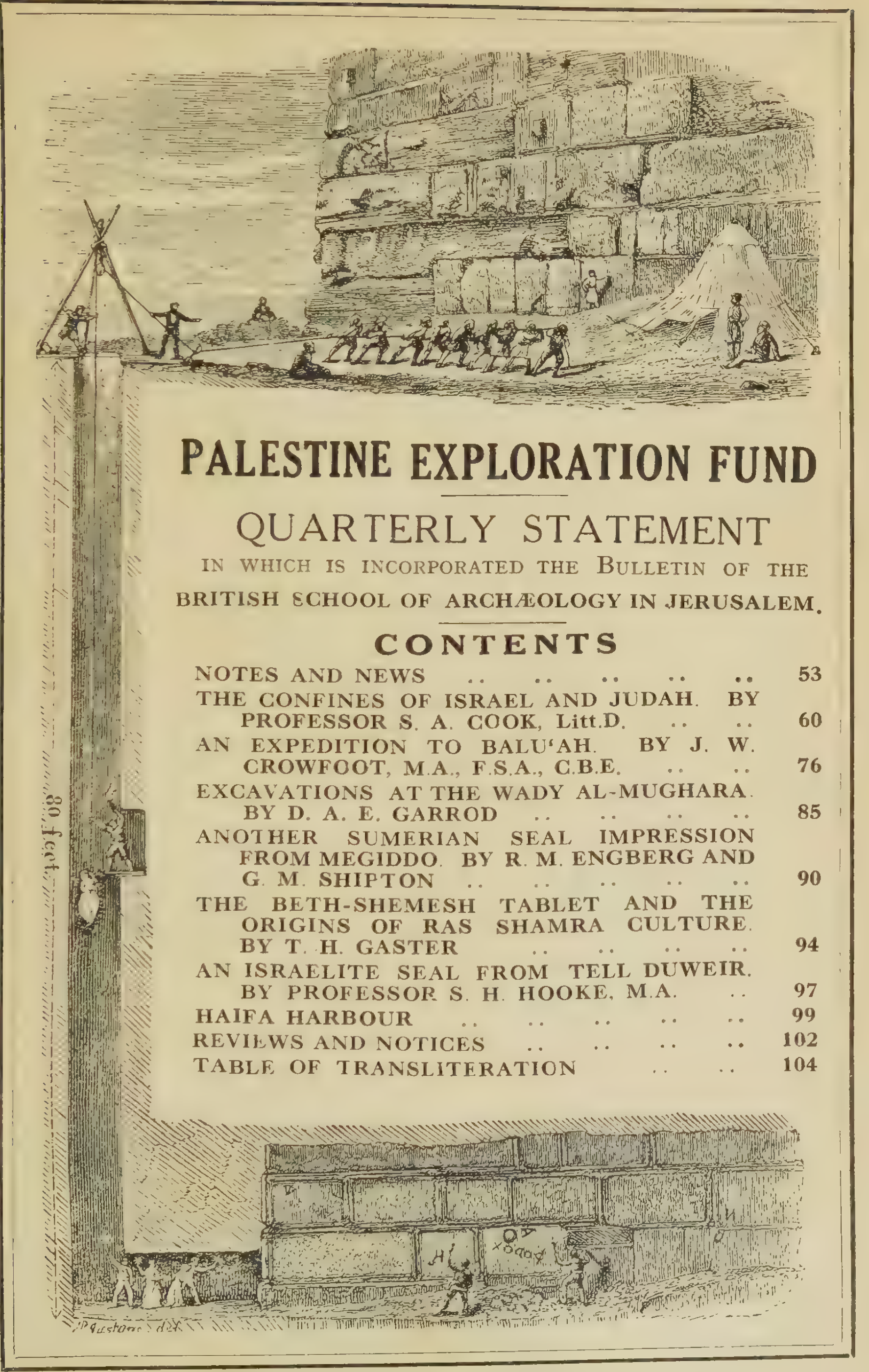

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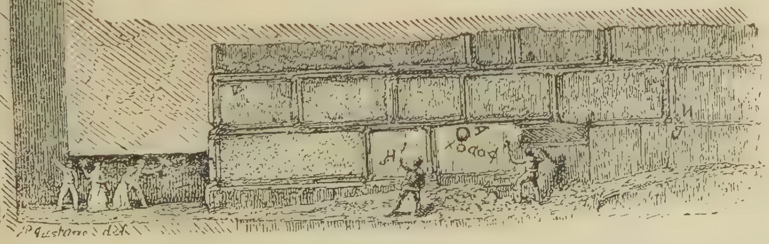

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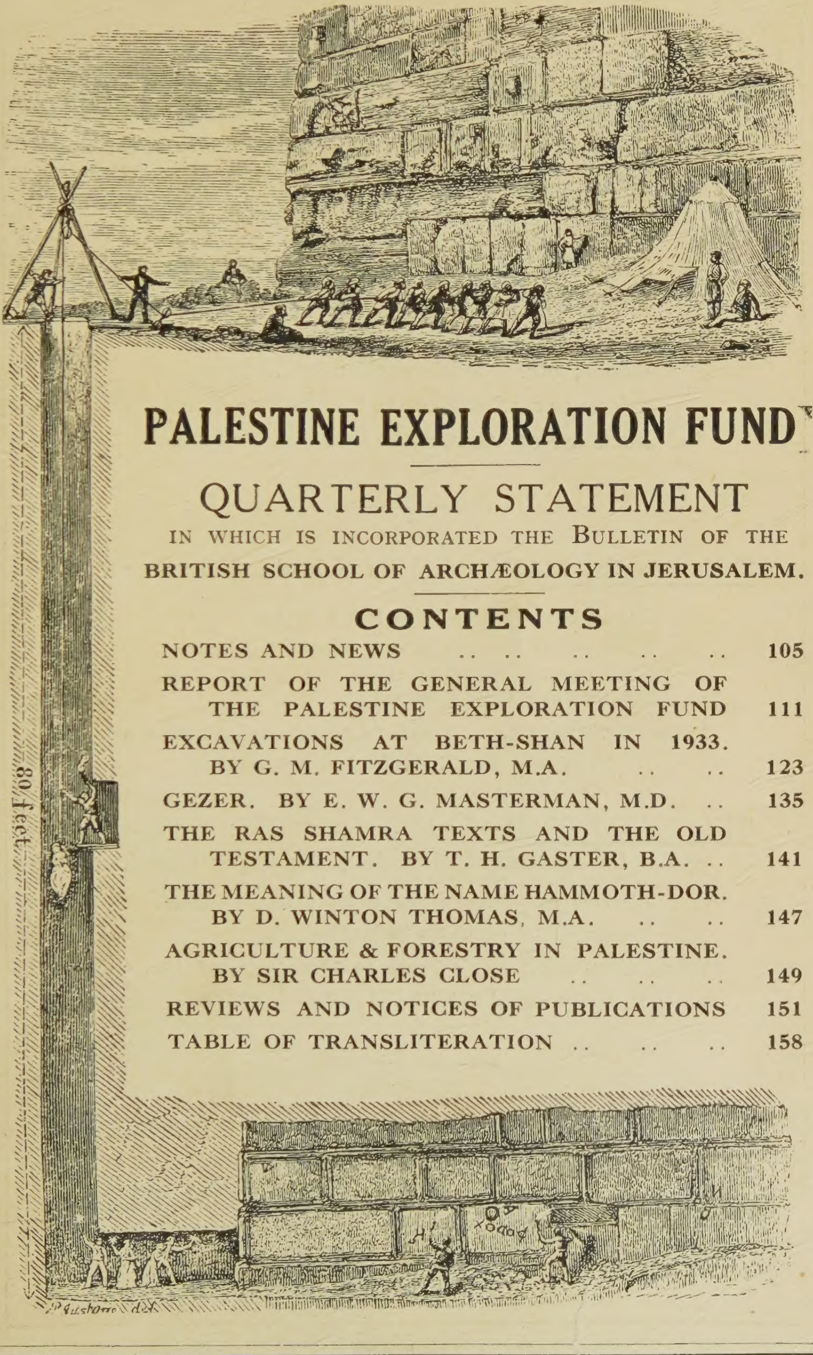

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QUARTERLY STATEMENT

IN WHICH IS INCORPORATED THE BULLETIN OF THE
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